A

# VOYAGE

ROUND THE

# WORLD,

IN THE YEARS

M, DCC, XL, I, II, III, IV,

BY

## GEORGE ANSON, Esq;

NOW LORD ANSON,

Commander in Chief of a Squadron of his Majesty's Ships, sent upon an Expedition to the South Seas.

COMPILED

From his Papers and Materials,

By RICHARD WALTER, M. A.

Chaplain of the Ship the Centurion in that Expedition.

VOL. II.

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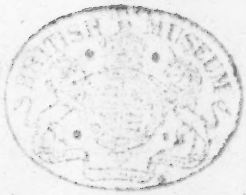
M, DCC, XC.



A

# VOYAGE

ROUND THE

# WORLD, &c.

## BOOK II.

### CHAP. VI.

*The Taking of* PAITA, *and our proceedings there.*

THE town of Paita is ſituated in the latitude of 5° : 12′ ſouth, on a moſt barren ſoil, compoſed only of ſand and ſlate; the extent of it (as may be ſeen in the plan of it) is but ſmall, containing in all leſs than two hundred families. The houſes are only ground floors; the walls built of ſplit cane and mud, and the roofs thatched with leaves. Theſe edifices, though extremely ſlight, are abundantly ſufficient for a climate where rain is conſidered as a prodigy, and is not ſeen in many years; ſo that it is ſaid, a ſmall quantity of rain falling in this country in the year 1728, ruined a great number of buildings, which mouldered away, and, as it were, melted before it. The inhabitants of Paita are principally Indians and black ſlaves, or at leaſt a mixed breed, the whites

being very few. The port of Paita, though in reality little more than a bay, is eſteemed the beſt on that part of the coaſt, and is indeed a very ſecure and commodious anchorage. It is greatly frequented by all veſſels coming from the north, ſince here only the ſhips from Acapulco, Sonſonnate, Realeijo, and Panama, can touch and refreſh in their paſſage to Callao: and the length of theſe voyages (the wind for the greateſt part of the year being full againſt them) renders it impoſſible to perform them without calling upon the coaſt for a recruit of freſh water. It is true, Paita is ſituated on ſo parched a ſpot, that it does not itſelf furniſh a drop of freſh water, or any kind of greens or proviſions, except fiſh, and a few goats; but there is an Indian town, called Colan, about two or three leagues diſtant, to the northward, from whence water, maize, greens, fowls, *&c.* are conveyed to Paita on balſas or floats, for the conveniency of the ſhips that touch here; and cattle are ſometimes brought from Piura, a town which lies about fourteen leagues up in the country. The water fetched from Colan is whitiſh, and of a diſagreeable appearance, but is ſaid to be very wholeſome; for it is pretended by the inhabitants, that it runs through large woods of ſarſaparilla, and is ſenſibly impregnated therewith. This port of Paita, beſides furniſhing the northern trade bound to Callao with water and neceſſaries, is the uſual place where paſſengers from Acapulco or Panama, bound to Lima, diſembark; for as it is two hundred leagues from hence to Callao, the port of Lima, and as the wind is generally contrary, the paſſage by ſea is very tedious and fatiguing, but by land there is a tolerable good road, parallel to the coaſt, with many ſtations and villages for the accommodation of travellers.

It appears by the plan, that the town of Paita is itſelf an open place; ſo that its ſole protection and defence is the fort marked (B) in the plan, plate the twenty-third. It was of conſequence to us to be well informed of the fabric and ſtrength of this fort; and, from the examination of our priſoners, we found, that there were eight pieces of cannon mounted in it, but that it had neither ditch nor outwork, being ſurrounded by a plain brick wall; and that the garriſon conſiſted of only one weak

company, though the town itſelf might poſſibly arm three hundred men more.

Mr. Anſon having informed himſelf of the ſtrength of the place, reſolved (as hath been ſaid in the preceding chapter) to attempt it that very night. We were then about twelve leagues diſtant from the ſhore, far enough to prevent our being diſcovered, yet not ſo far but that, by making all the ſail we could, we might arrive in the bay with our ſhips long before day break. However, the Commodore prudently conſidered, that this would be an improper method of proceeding, as our ſhips being ſuch large bodies, might be eaſily ſeen at a diſtance, even in the night, and might thereby alarm the inhabitants, and give them an opportunity of removing their valuable effects. He therefore, as the ſtrength of the place did not require our whole force, reſolved to attempt it with our boats only, ordering the eighteen oared barge, and our own and the Tryal's pinnaces, on that ſervice: and having picked out fifty eight men to man them, well furniſhed with arms and ammunition, he entruſted the command of the expedition to Lieutenant Brett, and gave him his neceſſary orders. And the better to prevent the diſappointment and confuſion which might ariſe from the darkneſs of the night, and from the ignorance of the ſtreets and paſſages of the place, two of the Spaniſh pilots were ordered to attend the lieutenant, who were to conduct him to the moſt convenient landing place, and were afterwards to be his guides on ſhore; and that we might have the greater ſecurity for their behaviour on this occaſion, the Commodore took care to aſſure our priſoners, that they ſhould all of them be releaſed and ſet on ſhore at this place, provided the pilots acted faithfully; but in caſe of any miſconduct or treachery, he threatened that the pilots ſhould be inſtantly ſhot, and that he would carry the reſt of the Spaniards, who were on board him, priſoners to England. So that the priſoners themſelves were intereſted in our ſucceſs, and therefore we had no reaſon to ſuſpect our conductors either of negligence or perfidy.

On this occaſion, I cannot but remark a ſingular circumſtance of one of the pilots employed by us in this buſineſs. It ſeems (as we afterwards learned) he had been

taken by Captain Clipperton above twenty years before, and had been obliged to lead Clipperton and his people to the surprise of Truxillo, a town within land, to the southward of Paita, where however he contrived to alarm his countrymen, and to save them, tho' the place was carried and pillaged. Now, that the only two attempts on shore, which were made at so long an interval from each other, should be guided by the same person, and he too a prisoner both times, and forced upon the employ contrary to his inclination, is an incident so very extraordinary, that I could not help mentioning it. But to return to the matter in hand.

During our preparations, the ships themselves stood towards the port with all the sail they could make, being secure that we were yet at too great a distance to be seen. But about ten o'clock at night, the ships being then within five leagues of the place, Lieutenant Brett, with the boats under his command, put off and arrived in the mouth of the bay, without being discovered; though no sooner had he entered it, than some of the people on board a vessel riding at anchor there, perceived him, who instantly getting into their boat, rowed towards the fort, shouting and crying, *The English, the English dogs!* &c. by which the whole town was suddenly alarmed, and our people soon observed several lights, hurrying backwards and forwards in the fort, and other marks of the inhabitants being in great motion. Lieutenant Brett on this encouraged his men to pull briskly up, that they might give the enemy as little time as possible to prepare for their defence. However, before our boats could reach the shore, the people in the fort had got ready some of their cannon, and pointed them towards the landing place; and though in the darkness of the night, it might be well supposed that chance had a greater share than skill in their direction, yet the first shot passed extremely near one of the boats, whistling just over the heads of the crew. This made our people redouble their efforts, so that they had reached the shore, and were in part disembarked by the time the second gun fired. As soon as our men landed, they were conducted by one of the Spanish pilots to the entrance of a narrow street not above fifty yards distant from the beach, where they were covered from the fire of

the fort; and being formed in the beſt manner the ſhortneſs of the time would allow, they immediately marched for the parade, which was a large ſquare at t' e end of this ſtreet, the fort being one ſide of the ſq re, and the governor's houſe another, as may be ſeen more diſtinctly in the plan, where likewiſe the road they took from their landing to the fort, is marked out by a pricked line. In this march, (though performed with tolerable regularity) the ſhouts and clamours of threeſcore ſailors, who had been confined ſo long on ſhip board, and were now for the firſt time on ſhore in an enemy's country, joyous as they always are when they land, and animated beſides, in the preſent caſe, with the hopes of an immenſe pillage; the huzzas, I ſay, of this ſpirited detachment, joined with the noiſe of their drums, and favoured by the night, had augmented their numbers in the opinion of the enemy, to at leaſt three hundred; by which perſuaſion the inhabitants were ſo greatly intimidated, that they were much more ſolicitous about the means of flight than of reſiſtance; ſo that though, upon entering the parade, our people received a volley from the merchants, who owned the treaſure then in the town, and who, with a few others, had ranged themſelves in a gallery that ran round the governor's houſe, yet that poſt was immediately abandoned upon the firſt fire made by our people, who were thereby left in quiet poſſeſſion of the parade.

On this ſucceſs, Lieutenant Brett divided his men into two parties, ordering one of them to ſurround the governor's houſe, and, if poſſible, to ſecure the governor; whilſt he himſelf, at the head of the other, marched to the fort with an intent to force it. But contrary to his expectation, he entered it without oppoſition; for the enemy, on his approach, abandoned it, and made their eſcape over the walls. By this means the whole place was maſtered in leſs than a quarter of an hour's time from the firſt landing, and with no other loſs than that of one man killed on the ſpot, and two wounded; one of which was the Spaniſh pilot of the Tereſa, who received a ſlight bruiſe, by a ball which grazed on his wriſt. Indeed another of the company, the honourable Mr. Kepple, ſon to the Earl of Albemarle, had a very narrow eſcape; for, having on a jocky cap, one ſide of the peak was ſhaved off, cloſe to

his temple, by a ball, which however did him no other injury.

Lieutenant Brett, when he had thus far happily succeeded, placed a guard at the fort, and another at the governor's house, and appointed centinels at all the avenues of the town, both to prevent any surprise from the enemy, and to secure the effects in the place from being embezzled. This being done, his next care was to seize on the custom house, where the treasure lay, and to examine if any of the inhabitants remained in the town, that he might know what farther precautions it was necessary to take: but he soon found that the numbers left behind were nowise formidable: for the greatest part of them (being in bed when the place was surprised) had run away with so much precipitation, that they had not given themselves time to put on their clothes. In this general rout, the governor was not the last to secure himself; for he fled betimes half naked, leaving his wife, a young lady of about seventeen years of age, to whom he had been married but three or four days, behind him, though she too was afterwards carried off in her shift by a couple of centinels, just as the detachment, ordered to invest the house, arrived before it. This escape of the governor was an unpleasing circumstance, as Mr. Anson had particularly recommended it to Lieutenant Brett to secure his person if possible, in hopes that by that means we might be able to treat for the ransom of the place: but it seems his alertness rendered the execution of these orders impracticable. The few inhabitants who remained were confined in one of the churches under a guard, except some stout negroes which were found in the town; these instead of being shut up were employed the remaining part of the night, to assist in carrying the treasure from the custom-house, and other places, to the fort; however, there was care taken that they should be always attended by a file of musqueteers.

The transporting the treasure from the customhouse to the fort, was the principal occupation of Mr. Brett's people after he had got possession of the place; but the sailors, while they were thus busied, could not be prevented from entering the houses which lay near them, in search

of private pillage, where the firſt things which occurred to them, being the clothes that the Spaniards in their flight had left behind them, and which, accord[illegible]o the cuſtom of the country, were moſt of them either embroidered or laced, our people eagerly ſeized thei[illegible]ittering habits, and put them on over their own dirty trowſers and jackets, not forgetting, at the ſame time, the tie or bag-wig, and laced hat, which were generally found with the clothes; and when this practice was once begun, there was no preventing the whole detachment from imitating it: but thoſe who came lateſt into the faſhion, not finding mens clothes ſufficient to equip themſelves, were obliged to take up with womens gowns and petticoats, which (provided there was finery enough) they made no ſcruple of putting on, and blending with their own greaſy dreſs. So that when a party of them thus ridiculouſly metamorphoſed, firſt appeared before Mr. Brett, he was extremely ſurpriſed at the groteſque ſight, and could not immediately be ſatisfied they were his own people.

Theſe were the tranſactions of our detachment on ſhore at Paita the firſt night. But to return to what was done on board the Centurion in that interval: I muſt obſerve, that, after the boats were gone off, we lay by till one o'clock in the morning; and then, ſuppoſing our detachment to be near landing, we made an eaſy ſail for the bay. About ſeven in the morning we began to open the bay, and ſoon after had a view of the town; and though we had no reaſon to doubt of the ſucceſs of the enterpriſe, yet it was with great joy that we firſt diſcovered an infallible ſignal of the certainty of our hopes; this was by means of our perſpectives; for, through them, we ſaw an Engliſh flag hoiſted on the flag-ſtaff of the fort, which, to us, was an inconteſtible proof that our people were in poſſeſſion of the place. We plied into the bay with as much expedition as the wind, which then blew off ſhore, would permit us: and, at eleven, the Tryal's boat came on board us, loaded with dollars and church plate; when the officer who commanded her, informed us of the preceding night's tranſactions, ſuch as we have already related them. About two in the afternoon we anchored in ten fathom and a half, at a mile and a half diſtance from the town, and were conſequently near enough to have a more immedi-

ate intercourſe with thoſe on ſhore. And now we found that Mr. Brett had hitherto gone on in collecting and removing the treaſure without interruption; but that the enemy had redezvouſed from all parts of the country, on a hill at the back of the town, where they made no inconſiderable appearance: for, among the reſt of their force, there were two hundred horſe, ſeemingly very well armed and mounted, and, as we conceived, properly trained and regimented, being furniſhed with trumpets, drums, and ſtandards. Theſe troops paraded about the hill with great oſtentation, ſounding their military muſic, and practiſing every art to intimidate us (as our numbers on ſhore were, by this time, not unknown to them) in hopes that we might be induced, by our fears, to abandon the place before the pillage was completed. But we were not ſo ignorant as to believe, that this body of horſe, which ſeemed to be what the enemy principally depended on, would dare to venture in ſtreets, and among houſes, even had their numbers been three times as large: and therefore, notwithſtanding their menaces, we went on calmly, as long as the day light laſted, in ſending off the treaſure, and in employing the boats to carry on board the refreſhments, ſuch as hogs, fowls, *&c.* which we found here in great abundance. However, at night, to prevent any ſurpriſe, the Commodore ſent on ſhore a reinforcement, who poſted themſelves in all the paſſages leading to the parade; and, for their further ſecurity, traverſed the ſtreet with barricadoes ſix feet high; but the enemy continuing quiet all night, we, at day-break, returned again to our labour of loading the boats, and ſending them off.

By this time we were convinced of what conſequence it would have been to us, had fortune ſeconded the prudent views of the Commodore, by permitting us to have ſecured the governor. For as we found in the place many ſtore houſes full of valuable effects, which were uſeleſs to us at preſent, and ſuch as we could not find room for on board; had the governor been in our power, he would, in all probability, have treated for the ranſom of this merchandiſe, which would have been extremely advantageous both to him and us: whereas he being now at liberty, and having collected all the force of the country for many leagues round, and having even got a body of mi-

litia from Piura, which was fourteen leagues diſtant, he was ſo elated with his numbers, and ſo fond of his new military command, that he ſeemed not to trouble himſelf about the fate of his government. So that, though Mr. Anſon ſent ſeveral meſſages to him by ſome of the inhabitants, whom he had taken priſoners, offering to enter into a treaty for the ranſom of the town and goods, giving him, at the ſame time, an intimation that we ſhould be far from inſiſting on a rigorous equivalent, but perhaps might be ſatisfied with ſome live cattle, and a few neceſſaries for the uſe of the ſquadron, threatening too, that if he would not condeſcend at leaſt to treat, we would ſet fire to the town and all the ware houſes; yet the governor was ſo imprudent and arrogant, that he deſpiſed all theſe reiterated overtures, and did not deign even to return the leaſt anſwer to them.

On the ſecond day of our being in poſſeſſion of the place, ſeveral negroe ſlaves deſerted from the enemy on the hill, and, coming into the town, voluntarily engaged in our ſervice: one of theſe was well known to a gentleman on board, who remembered him formerly at Panama. We now learned, that the Spaniards without the town were in extreme want of water; for many of their ſlaves crept into the place by ſtealth, and carried away ſeveral jars of water to their maſters on the hill; and though ſome of them were ſeized by our men in the attempt, yet the thirſt among the enemy was ſo preſſing, that they continued this practice till we left the place. On this ſecond day we were aſſured, both by the deſerters, and by thoſe priſoners we took, that the Spaniards on the hill, who were, by this time, increaſed to a formidable number, had reſolved to ſtorm the town and fort the ſucceeding night: and that one Gordon a Scots Papiſt, and captain of a ſhip in thoſe ſeas, was to have the command of this enterprize. However, we, notwithſtanding, continued ſending off our boats, and proſecuting our work without the leaſt hurry or precipitation, till the evening, when a reinforcement was again ſent on ſhore by the Commodore, and Lieutenant Brett doubled his guards at each of the barricadoes; and our poſts being connected, by the means of centinels placed within call of each other, and the whole being viſited by frequent rounds, attended

with a drum; these marks of our vigilance, which the enemy could not be ignorant of, as they could doubtless hear the drum, if not the calls of the centinels: these marks, I say, of our vigilance, and of our readiness to receive them, cooled their resolution, and made them forget the vaunts of the preceding day; so that we passed this night with as little molestation as we had done the first.

We had finished sending the treasure on board the Centurion the evening before: so that the third morning, being the 15th of November, the boats were employed in carrying off the most valuable part of the effects that remained in the town: and the Commodore, intending to sail in the afternoon, he, about ten o'clock, pursuant to his promise, sent all his prisoners, amounting to eighty-eight, on shore, giving orders to Lieutenant Brett to secure them in one of the churches, under a strict guard, till the men were ready to be embarked. Mr. Brett was, at the same time, ordered to burn the whole town, except the two churches (which, by good fortune, stood at some distance from the houses), and then he was to abandon the place, and to return on board. These orders were punctually complied with: for Mr. Brett immediately set his men to work to distribute pitch, tar, and other combustibles (of which great quantities were found here) into houses situated in different streets of the town; so that, the place being fired in many quarters at the same time, the destruction might be the more violent and sudden, and the enemy, after our departure, might not be able to extinguish it. When these preparations were made, he, in the next place, commanded the cannon, which he found in the fort, to be nailed up, and then setting fire to those houses which were most to the windward, he collected his men, and marched towards the beach, where the boats waited to carry them off. As that part of the beach, whence he intended to embark, was an open place without the town, near where the churches are marked in the fore-mentioned plan, the Spaniards on the hill, perceiving he was retreating, resolved to try if they could precipitate his departure, and thereby lay some foundation for their future boasting. To this end a small squadron of horse, consisting of about sixty picked out, as I suppose, for this service,

marched down the hill with much ſeeming reſolution; ſo that, had we not entertained an adequate opinion of their proweſs, we might have imagined, that now we were upon the open beach, with no advantage of ſituation, they would certainly have charged us: but we preſumed (and we were not miſtaken) that this was mere oſtentation. For, notwithſtanding the pomp and parade they at firſt came on with, Mr. Brett had no ſooner ordered his men to halt and face about, than the enemy ſtopped their career, and never dared to advance a ſtep further.

When our people were arrived at our boats, and were ready to go on board, they were for ſome time retarded by miſſing one of their number: and being unable on their mutual inquiries amongſt each other, to inform themſelves where he was left, or by what accident he was detained, they, after a conſiderable delay, reſolved to get into their boats and depart without him. But when the laſt man was actually embarked, and the boats were juſt putting off, they heard him calling to them to take him in. The place was, by this time, ſo thoroughly on fire, and the ſmoke covered the beach ſo effectually, that they could ſcarcely diſcern him, though they heard his voice: however, the lieutenant inſtantly ordered one of the boats to his relief, who found him up to the chin in water; for he had waded as far as he durſt, being extremely frightened with the apprehenſions of falling into the hands of an enemy enraged, as they doubtleſs were, at the pillage and deſtruction of their town. On inquiring into the cauſe of his ſtaying behind, it was found, that he had taken that morning too large a doſe of brandy, which had thrown him into ſo ſound a ſleep, that he did not awake till the fire came near enough to ſcorch him. He was ſtrangely amazed at firſt opening his eyes, to ſee the houſes all on a blaze on one ſide, and ſeveral Spaniards and Indians not far from him on the other. The greatneſs and ſuddenneſs of his fright inſtantly reduced him to a ſtate of ſobriety, and gave him ſufficient preſence of mind to puſh through the thickeſt of the ſmoke, as the likelieſt means to eſcape the enemy; and, making the beſt of his way to the beach, he ran as far into the water as he durſt (for he could not ſwim) before he ventured to look back.

I cannot but obſerve here, to the honour of our people, that though there were great quantities of wine and ſpirituous liquors found in the place, yet this man was the only one who was known to have ſo far neglected his duty as to get drunk. Indeed, their whole behaviour, while they were aſhore, was much more regular than could well have been expected from ſailors who had been ſo long confined to a ſhip. And, though part of this prudent demeanour muſt doubtleſs be imputed to the diligence of their officers, and to the excellent diſcipline to which they had been conſtantly inured on board the Commodore, yet it was doubtleſs no ſmall reputation to the men, that they ſhould generally refrain from indulging themſelves in thoſe intoxicating liquors, which they found ready to their hands at almoſt every ware houſe.

Having mentioned this ſingle inſtance of drunkenneſs, I cannot paſs by another overſight, which was likewiſe the only one of its kind; and which was attended with very particular circumſtances. There was an Engliſhman who had formerly wrought as a ſhip carpenter in the yard at Portſmouth, but, leaving his country, had afterwards entered into the Spaniſh ſervice, and was employed by them at the port of Guaiaquil; and it being well known to his friends in England, that he was then in that part of the world, they put letters on board the Centurion, directed to him. This man being then by accident amongſt the Spaniards, who were retired to the hill at Paita, he was ambitious, as it ſhould ſeem, of acquiring ſome reputation amongſt his new maſters. With this view he came down unarmed to a centinel of ours, placed at ſome diſtance from the fort, toward the enemy, to whom he pretended that he was deſirous of ſurrendering himſelf, and of entering into our ſervice. Our centinel had a cocked piſtol in his hand, but, being deceived by the other's fair ſpeeches, he was ſo imprudent as to let him approach much nearer than he ought; ſo that the ſhipwright, watching his opportunity, ruſhed on the centinel, and ſeizing his piſtol, wrenched it out of his hands, and inſtantly ran away with it up the hill. By this time two of our people, who, ſeeing the fellow advance, had ſuſpected his intention, were making towards him, and were thereby prepared to purſue him; but he got to the top of the hill

before they could reach him, and then turning about, fired the piſtol; whereupon his purſuers immediately returned the fire, and though he was at a great diſtance, and the creſt of the hill hid him as ſoon as they had fired, ſo that they took it for granted they had miſſed him; yet we afterwards learned, that he was ſhot through the body, and had fallen down dead, the very next ſtep he took after he was out of ſight. The centinel too, who had been thus groſsly impoſed upon, did not eſcape unpuniſhed, ſince he was ordered to be ſeverely whipped for being thus ſhamefully ſurpriſed upon his poſt; and having thereby given an example of careleſſneſs, which, if followed in other inſtances, might prove fatal to us all. But to return:

By the time our people had helped their comrade out of the water, and were making the beſt of their way to the ſquadron, the flames had taken poſſeſſion of every part of the town, and had got ſuch hold, both by means of the combuſtibles that had been diſtributed for that purpoſe, and by the ſlightneſs of the materials of which the houſes were compoſed, and their aptitude to take fire, that it was ſufficiently apparent no efforts of the enemy (though they flocked down in great numbers) could poſſibly put a ſtop to it, or prevent the entire deſtruction of the place, and all the merchandiſe contained therein. A whole town on fire at once, eſpecially where the buildings burnt with ſuch facility and violence, being a very ſingular ſpectacle, Mr. Brett had the curioſity to delineate its appearance, together with that of the ſhips in the harbour, as may be ſeen in the twenty-fourth plate.

Our detachment, under Lieutenant Brett, having ſafely joined the ſquadron, the Commodore prepared to leave the place the ſame evening. He found, when he firſt came into the bay, ſix veſſels of the enemy at anchor; one whereof was the ſhip which, according to our intelligence, was to have ſailed with the treaſure to the coaſt of Mexico, and which, as we were perſuaded ſhe was a good ſailor, we reſolved to take with us; the others were two ſnows, a bark, and two row-gallies of thirty-ſix oars a piece. Theſe laſt, as we were afterwards informed, with many others of the ſame kind, built at divers ports,

were intended to prevent our landing in the neighbourhood of Callao; for the Spaniards, on the firſt intelligence of our ſquadron and its force, expected that we would attempt the city of Lima. The Commodore having no occaſion for theſe other veſſels, had ordered all the maſts of five of them to be cut away at his firſt arrival; and, on his leaving the place, they were towed out of the harbour, and ſcuttled and ſunk; and the command of the remaining ſhip, called the Solidad, being given to Mr Hughs, the lieutenant of the Tryal, who had with him a crew of ten men to navigate her, the ſquadron, towards midnight, weighed anchor and ſailed out of the bay, being at preſent augmented to ſix ſail, that is, the Centurion, and the Tryal's prize, together with the Carmelo, the Tereſa, the Carmin, and our laſt acquired veſſel, the Solidad.

And now, before I entirely acquit the account of our tranſactions at this place, it may not, perhaps, be improper to give a ſuccinct relation of the booty we got here, and of the loſs the Spaniards ſuſtained. I have before obſerved, that there were great quantities of valuable effects in the town; but as moſt of them were what we could neither diſpoſe of nor carry away, the total amount of this merchandiſe can only be rudely gueſſed at. The Spaniards, in their repreſentations ſent to the court of Madrid (as we were afterwards aſſured), eſtimated their whole loſs at a million and a half of dollars; and when it is conſidered, that no ſmall part of the goods we burnt there, were of the richeſt and moſt expenſive ſpecies, as broad cloths, ſilks, cambrics, velvets, &c. I cannot but think their valuation ſufficiently moderate. As to ourſelves, the acquiſition we made, though inconſiderable in compariſon of what we deſtroyed, was yet far from deſpicable; for the wrought plate, dollars, and other coin which fell into our hands, amounted to upwards of £. 30,000, ſterling, beſides ſeveral rings, bracelets, and jewels, whoſe intrinſic value we could not then determine; and, over and above all this, the plunder, which became the property of the immediate captors, was very great; ſo that, upon the whole, it was by much the moſt important booty we met with upon that coaſt.

There remains ſtill another matter to be related, which, on account of the ſignal honour which our national cha-

racter, in thoſe parts, has thence received, and the reputation which our Commodore, in particular, has thereby acquired, merits a diſtinct and circumſtantial diſcuſſion. It has been already obſerved, that all the priſoners taken by us in our preceding prizes, were here put on ſhore and diſcharged; among whom there were ſome perſons of conſiderable diſtinction, eſpecially a youth of about ſeventeen years of age, ſon of the vice-preſident of the council of Chili. As the barbarity of the buccaneers, and the artful uſe the eccleſiaſtics had made of it, had filled the natives of thoſe countries with the moſt terrible ideas of the Engliſh cruelty, we always found our priſoners, at their firſt coming on board us, to be extremely dejected and under great horror and anxiety: particularly this youth whom I laſt mentioned, having never been from home before, lamented his captivity in the moſt moving manner, regretting, in very plaintive terms, his parents, his brother, his ſiſters, and his native country, of all which he was fully perſuaded he had taken his laſt farewel, believing that he was now devoted, for the remaining part of his life, to an abject and cruel ſervitude. Indeed his companions on board, and all the Spaniards that came into our power, had the ſame deſponding opinion of their ſituation. Mr. Anſon conſtantly exerted his utmoſt endeavours to efface theſe terrifying impreſſions they had received of us; always taking care, that as many of the principal people among them as there were room for, ſhould dine at his table by turns; and giving the ſtricteſt orders too, that they ſhould at all times, and in every circumſtance, be treated with the utmoſt decency and humanity. But notwithſtanding this precaution, it was generally obſerved, that the firſt day or two they did not quit their fears, ſuſpecting the gentleneſs of their uſage to be only preparatory to ſome unthought of calamity. However, being at length convinced of our ſincerity, they grew perfectly eaſy in their ſituation, and remarkably chearful; ſo that it was often diſputable, whether or not they conſidered their being detained by us as a misfortune. For the youth I have above mentioned, who was near two months on board us, had at laſt ſo far conquered his melancholy ſurmiſes, and had taken ſuch an affection to Mr. Anſon, and ſeemed ſo much pleaſed with the manner of life, totally different from all he had ever ſeen before, that it is doubtful to me whether,

if his own opinion had been aſked, he would not have preferred a voyage to England in the Centurion, to the being ſet on ſhore at Paita, where he was at liberty to return to his country and friends.

This conduct of the Commodore to his priſoners, which was continued without interruption or deviation, gave them all the higheſt idea of his humanity and benevolence, and induced them likewiſe (as mankind are fond of forming general opinions) to entertain very favourable thoughts of the Engliſh nation. But, whatever they might be diſpoſed to think of Mr. Anſon before the capture of the Tereſa, their veneration for him was prodigiouſly increaſed by his conduct towards thoſe women, whom (as I have already mentioned) he took in that veſſel: for the leaving them in the poſſeſſion of their apartments, the ſtrict orders given to prevent all his people on board from approaching them, and the permitting the pilot to ſtay with them, as their guardian, were meaſures that ſeemed ſo different from what might be expected from an enemy, and an heretic, that the Spaniards on board, though they had themſelves experienced his beneficence, were ſurpriſed at this new inſtance of it; and the more ſo, as all this was done without his ever ſeeing the women, though the two daughters were both eſteemed handſome, and the youngeſt was celebrated for her uncommon beauty. The women themſelves, too, were ſo ſenſible of the obligations they owed him, for the care and attention with which he had protected them, that they abſolutely refuſed to go on ſhore at Paita, till they had been permitted to wait on him on board the Centurion, to return him thanks in perſon. Indeed all the priſoners left us, with the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of their grateful remembrance of his uncommon treatment. A Jeſuit, in particular, whom the Commodore had taken, and who was an eccleſiaſtic of ſome diſtinction, could not help expreſſing himſelf with great thankfulneſs for the civilities he and his countrymen had found on board; declaring that he ſhould conſider it as his duty to do Mr. Anſon juſtice at all times; adding, that his uſage of the men priſoners was ſuch as could never be forgot, and ſuch as he could never fail to acknowledge and recite upon all occaſions: but that his behaviour to the women was ſo extraordinary, and ſo extremely honoura-

ble, that he doubted all the regard due to his own eccleſiaſtic character, would be ſcarcely ſufficient to render it credible. Indeed we were afterwards informed, that he and the reſt of our priſoners had not been ſilent on this head, but had, both at Lima, and at other places, given the greateſt encomiums to our Commodore; the Jeſuit, in particular, as we were told, having, on his account, interpreted, in a lax and hipothetical ſenſe, that article of his church, which aſſerts the impoſſibility of heretics being ſaved.

Nor let it be imagined, that the impreſſions which the Spaniards hence received, to our advantage, is a matter of ſmall import: for, not to mention ſeveral of our countrymen, who have already felt the good effects of theſe prepoſſeſſions, the Spaniards are a nation, whoſe good opinion of us is doubtleſs of more conſequence than that of all the world beſides; not only as the commerce we had formerly carried on with them, and perhaps may again hereafter, is ſo extremely valuable, but alſo the tranſacting it does ſo immediately depend on the honour and good faith of thoſe who are entruſted with its management. However, had no national conveniences attended it, the Commodore's equity and good temper would no leſs have deterred him from all tyranny and cruelty to thoſe whom the fortune of war had put into his hands. I ſhall only add, that, by his conſtant attachment to theſe humane and prudent maxims, he has acquired a diſtinguiſhed reputation amongſt the Creolian Spaniards, which is not confined merely to the coaſt of the South Seas, but is extended through all the Spaniſh ſettlements in America; ſo that his name is frequently to be met with in the mouths of moſt of the Spaniſh inhabitants of that prodigious empire.

## CHAP. VII.

### *From our Departure from* PAITA *to our Arrival at* QUIBO.

WHEN we got under ſail from the coaſt of Paita, (which, as I have already obſerved, was about

midnight, on the 16th of November) we ſtood to the weſtward, and in the morning the Commodore gave orders that the whole ſquadron ſhould ſpread themſelves, to look out for the Glouceſter; for we then drew near the ſtation where Captain Mitchell had been directed to cruiſe, we hourly expected to get ſight of him, but the whole day paſſed without ſeeing him.

And now a jealouſy which had taken its riſe at Paita, between thoſe who had been commanded on ſhore for the attack, and thoſe who had continued on board, grew to ſuch a height, that the Commodore being made acquainted with it, thought it neceſſary to interpoſe his authority to appeaſe it. The ground of this animoſity was the plunder gotten at Paita, which thoſe who had acted on ſhore had appropriated to themſelves, conſidering it as a reward for the riſks they had run, and the reſolution they had ſhown in that ſervice. But thoſe who had remained on board, looked on this as a very partial and unjuſt procedure, urging, that had it been left to their choice, they ſhould have preferred the acting on ſhore to the continuing on board; that their duty while their comrades were on ſhore, was extremely fatiguing; for, beſides the labour of the day, they were continually under arms all night to ſecure the priſoners, whoſe number exceeded their own, and of whom it was then neceſſary to be extremely watchful, to prevent any attempts they might have formed in that critical conjuncture: that, upon the whole, it could not be denied, but that the preſence of a ſufficient force on board, was as neceſſary to the ſucceſs of the enterpriſe, as the action of the others on ſhore: and therefore thoſe who continued on board maintained, that they could not be deprived of their ſhare of the plunder without manifeſt injuſtice. Theſe were the conteſts amongſt our men, which were carried on with great heat on both ſides. And though the plunder in queſtion was a very trifle in compariſon of the treaſure taken in the place (in which there was no doubt but thoſe on board had an equal right) yet, as the obſtinacy of ſailors is not always regulated by the importance of the matter in diſpute, the Commodore thought it neceſſary to put a ſtop to this ferment betimes. Accordingly, the morning after our leaving Paita, he ordered all hands upon the quarter-

deck, where, addreſſing himſelf to thoſe who had been detached on ſhore, he commended their behaviour, and thanked them for their ſervices on that occaſion: but then repreſenting to them the reaſons urged by thoſe who had continued on board, for an equal diſtribution of the plunder, he told them, that he thought theſe reaſons very concluſive, and that the expectations of their comrades were juſtly founded; and therefore he inſiſted, that not only the men, but all the officers likewiſe, who had been employed in taking the place, ſhould produce the whole of their plunder immediately uponthe quarter-deck, and that it ſhould be impartially divided amongſt the whole crew, in proportion to each man's rank and commiſſion. And to prevent thoſe who had been in poſſeſſion of the plunder from murmuring at this diminution of their ſhare, the Commodore added, that as an encouragement to others who might be hereafter employed on like ſervices, he would give his entire ſhare to be diſtributed amongſt thoſe who had been detached for the attack of the place. Thus this troubleſome affair, which, if permitted to have gone on, might perhaps have been attended with miſchievous conſequences, was, by the Commodore's prudence, ſoon appeaſed, to the general ſatisfaction of the ſhip's company; not but that there were ſome few, whoſe ſelfiſh diſpoſitions were uninfluenced by the juſtice of this procedure, and who were incapable of diſcerning the force of equity, however glaring, when it tended to deprive them of any part of what they had once got into their hands.

This important buſineſs employed the beſt part of the day after we came from Paita. And now, at night, having no ſight of the Glouceſter, the Commodore ordered the ſquadron to bring to, that we might not paſs her in the dark. The next morning we again looked out for her, and, at ten, we ſaw a ſail, to which we gave chace; and, at two in the afternoon, we came near enough to diſcover her to be the Glouceſter, with a ſmall veſſel in tow. About an hour after we were joined by them; and then we learned, that Captain Mitchell, in the whole time of his cruiſe, had only taken two prizes, one of them being a ſmall ſnow, whoſe cargo conſiſted chiefly of wine, brandy, and olives in jars, with about £. 7000 in ſpecie; and the other a large boat or launch, which the Glou-

ceſter's barge came up with near the ſhore. The priſoners on board this laſt veſſel alledged, that they were very poor, and that their loading conſiſted only of cotton; though the circumſtances in which the barge ſurpriſed them, ſeemed to inſinuate, that they were more opulent than they pretended to be; for the Glouceſter's people found them at dinner upon a pigeon pye, ſerved up in ſilver diſhes. However, the officer who commanded the barge, having opened ſeveral of the jars on board, to ſatisfy his curioſity, and finding nothing in them but cotton, he was inclined to believe the account the priſoners gave him; but the cargo being taken into the Glouceſter, and there examined more ſtrictly, they were agreeably ſurpriſed to find, that the whole was a very extraordinary piece of falſe package; and that there was concealed amongſt the cotton, in every jar, a conſiderable quantity of double doubloons and dollars, to the amount, on the whole, of near £. 12,000. This treaſure was going to Paita, and belonged to the ſame merchants, who were the proprietors of the greateſt part of the money we had taken there; ſo that, had this boat eſcaped the Glouceſter, it is probable her cargo would have fallen into our hands. Beſides theſe two prizes which we have mentioned, the Glouceſter's people told us, that they had been in ſight of two or three other ſhips of the enemy, which had eſcaped them; and one of them we had reaſon to believe, from ſome of our intelligence, was of immenſe value.

Being now joined by the Glouceſter and her prize, it was reſolved that we ſhould ſtand to the northward, and make the beſt of our way either to Cape St. Lucas or California, or to Cape Corientes, on the coaſt of Mexico. Indeed the Commodore, when at Juan Fernandes, had determined with himſelf to touch in the neighbourhood of Panama, and to endeavour to get ſome correſpondence over land with the fleet under the command of Admiral Vernon. For, when we departed from England, we left a large force at Portſmouth, which was intended to be ſent to the Weſt Indies, there to be employed in an expedition againſt ſome of the Spaniſh ſettlements. And Mr. Anſon taking it for granted, that this enterpriſe had ſucceeded, and that Porto Bello, perhaps, might be then

garriſoned by Britiſh troops, he hoped, that, on his arrival at the Iſthmus, he ſhould eaſily procure an intercourſe with our countrymen on the other ſide, either by the Indians, who were greatly diſpoſed in our favour, or even by the Spaniards themſelves; ſome of whom, for proper rewards, might be induced to carry on this intelligence, which, after it was once begun, might be continued with very little difficulty; ſo that Mr. Anſon flattered himſelf that he might, by this means, have received a reinforcement of men from the other ſide, and that, by ſettling a prudent plan of operations with our commanders in the Weſt Indies, he might have taken even Panama itſelf, which would have given to the Britiſh nation the poſſeſſion of that iſthmus, whereby we ſhould have been, in effect, maſters of all the treaſures of Peru; and ſhould have had in our hands an equivalent for any demands, however extraordinary, which we might have been induced to have made on either of the branches of the houſe of Bourbon.

Such were the projects which the Commodore revolved in his thoughts at the iſland of Juan Fernandes, notwithſtanding the feeble condition to which he was then reduced. And indeed, had the ſucceſs of our force in the Weſt Indies been anſwerable to the general expectation, it cannot be denied but theſe views would have been the moſt prudent that could have been thought of. But, on examining the papers which were found on board the Carmelo, the firſt prize we took, we learned (though I then omitted to mention it) that our attempt againſt Carthagena had failed, and that there was no probability that our fleet, in that part of the world, would engage in any new enterpriſe that would at all facilitate this plan. Mr. Anſon, therefore, gave over all hopes of being reinforced acroſs the iſthmus, and conſequently had no inducement at preſent to proceed to Panama, as he was incapable of attacking the place; and there was great reaſon to believe, that, by this time, there was a general embargo on all the coaſt.

The only feaſible meaſure then, which was left us, was to ſteer as ſoon as poſſible to the ſouthern parts of California, or to the adjacent coaſt of Mexico, there to

cruiſe for the Manila galeon, which we knew was now at ſea, bound to the port of Acapulco: and we doubted not to get on that ſtation time enough to intercept her; for this ſhip does not uſually arrive at Acapulco, till towards the middle of January, and we were now but in the middle of November, and did not conceive that our paſſage thither would coſt us above a month or five weeks; ſo that we imagined we had near twice as much time as was neceſſary for our purpoſe. Indeed there was a buſineſs which we foreſaw would occaſion ſome delay, but we flattered ourſelves, that it would be diſpatched in four or five days, and therefore could not interrupt our project. This was the recruiting of our water; for the number of priſoners we had entertained on board, ſince our leaving the iſland of Fernandes, had ſo far exhauſted our ſtock, that it was impoſſible to think of venturing upon this paſſage to the coaſt of Mexico, till we had procured a freſh ſupply; eſpecially as at Paita, where we had ſome hopes of getting a quantity, we did not find enough for our conſumption during our ſtay there. It was for ſome time a matter of deliberation, where we ſhould take in this neceſſary article; but, by conſulting the accounts of former navigators, and examining our priſoners, we at laſt reſolved for the iſland of Quibo, ſituated at the mouth of the bay of Panama; nor was it but on good grounds, that the Commodore conceived this to be the propereſt place for watering the ſquadron. Indeed, there was a ſmall iſland called Cocos, which was leſs out of our way than Quibo, where ſome of the buccaneers have pretended they found water; but none of our priſoners knew any thing of it; and it was thought too dangerous to riſk the ſafety of the ſquadron, by expoſing ourſelves to the hazard of not meeting with water when we came there, on the mere authority of theſe legendary writers, of whoſe miſrepreſentations and falſities we had almoſt daily experience. Beſides, by going to Quibo, we were not without hopes, that ſome of the enemy's ſhips, bound to or from Panama, might fall into our hands, particularly ſuch of them as were put to ſea before they had any intelligence of our ſquadron.

Determined, therefore, by theſe reaſons, for Quibo, we directed our courſe northward, being eight ſail in

company, and conſequently, having the appearance of a very formidable fleet; and, on the 19th, at day break, we diſcovered Cape Blanco, bearing S. S. E. ½ E. ſeven miles diſtant. This Cape lies in the latitude of 40°: 15′ ſouth, and is always made by ſhips bound either to windward or leeward; ſo that off this Cape is a moſt excellent ſtation to cruiſe upon the enemy. By this time we found, that our laſt prize, the Solidad, was far from anſwering the character given her, of a good ſailor; and ſhe, and the Santa Tereſa, delaying us conſiderably, the Commodore commanded them both to be cleared of every thing that might prove uſeful to the reſt of the ſhips, and then to be burned; and having given proper inſtructions, and a rendezvous to the Glouceſter and the other prizes, we proceeded in our courſe for Quibo; and on the 22d, in the morning, ſaw the iſland of Plata, bearing eaſt, diſtant four leagues. Here one of our prizes was ordered to ſtand cloſe in with it, both to diſcover if there were any ſhips between that iſland and the continent, and likewiſe to look out for a ſtream of freſh water which was reported to be there, and which would have ſaved us the trouble of going to Quibo: but ſhe returned without having ſeen any ſhip, or finding any water. At three in the afternoon, Point Manto bore S. E. by E. ſeven miles diſtant; and there being a town of the ſame name in the neighbourhood, Captain Mitchell took this opportunity of ſending away ſeveral of his priſoners from the Glouceſter, in the Spaniſh launch. The boats were now daily employed in diſtributing proviſions on board our prizes, to complete their ſtock for ſix months: and that the Centurion might be the better prepared to give the Manila ſhip (one of which, we were told, was of an immenſe ſize) a warm reception, the carpenters were ordered to fix eight ſtocks in the main and fore-tops, which were properly fitted for the mounting of ſwivel guns.

On the 25th we had a ſight of the iſland of Gallo, bearing E. S. E. ½ E. four leagues diſtant; and, from hence we croſſed the bay of Panama with a N. W. courſe, hoping that this would have carried us in a direct line to the iſland of Quibo; but we afterwards found that we ought to have ſtood more to the weſtward; for the winds, in a ſhort time, began to incline to that quarter, and made it

difficult to gain the iſland. After paſſing the equinoctial, (which we did on the 22d) and leaving the neighbourhood of the Cordilleras, and ſtanding more and more towards the iſthmus, where the communication of the atmoſphere to the eaſtward and the weſtward, was no longer interrupted, we found in a very few days, an extraordinary alteration in the climate. For, inſtead of that uniform temperature, where neither the exceſs of heat or cold was to be complained of, we had now for ſeveral days together, cloſe and ſultry weather, reſembling what we had before met with on the coaſt of Brazil, and in other parts between the tropics on the eaſtern ſide of America. We had, beſides, frequent calms and heavy rains; which we, at firſt, aſcribed to the neighbourhood of the line, where this kind of weather is generally found to prevail at all ſeaſons of the year: but, obſerving that it attended us to the latitude of ſeven degrees north, we were at length induced to believe, that the ſtormy ſeaſon, or, as the Spaniards call it, the Vandevals, was not yet over; though many writers, particularly captain Shelvocke, poſitively aſſert, that this ſeaſon begins in June, and is ended in November; and our priſoners all affirmed the ſame thing: but perhaps its end may not be always conſtant, and it might laſt this year longer than uſual.

On the 27th, Captain Mitchell having finiſhed the clearing of his largeſt prize, ſhe was ſcuttled, and ſet on fire; but we ſtill conſiſted of five ſhips, and were fortunate enough to find them all good ſailors; ſo that we never occaſioned any delay to each other. Being now in a rainy climate, which we had been long diſuſed to, we found it neceſſary to caulk the decks and ſides of the Centurion, to prevent the rain water from running into her.

On the 3d of December, we had a view of the iſland of Quibo, the eaſt end of which then bore from us N. N. W four leagues diſtant, and the iſland of Quicara W. N. W. about the ſame diſtance. Here we ſtruck ground with ſixty five fathom of line, the bottom conſiſting of grey ſand, with black ſpecks. There is inſerted in the 28th plate (being contained in the ſame plate with the view of the hill of Petaplan) a view of theſe two iſlands, where (*a*) repreſents the S. E. end of Quibo, bearing N. by W. four

leagues distant; and (*b*) the island of Quicara, which bears from the point (*a*) W. S. W. ½ S. and is distant from it four leagues, the point (*a*) being itself in the latitude of 7° : 20′ north. When we had thus got sight of the land, we found the wind to hang westerly: and therefore, night coming on, we thought it advisеable to stand off till morning, as there are said to be some shoals in the entrance of the channel. At six the next morning, Point Mariato bore N. E. ½ N. three or four leagues distant. In weathering this point, all the squadron, except the Centurion, were very near it; and the Glouceſter, being the leewardeſt ship, was forced to tack, and to stand to the southward, so that we lost sight of her. At nine, the island of Sebaco bore N. W. by N. four leagues distant: but the wind still proving unfavourable, we were obliged to ply on and off for the succeeding twenty four hours, and were frequently taken a back. However, at eleven the next morning, the wind happily settled in the S. S. W. and we bore away for the S. S. E. end of the island, and, about three in the afternoon, entered the Canal Bueno, passing round a shoal which stretches off about two miles from the south point of the island. This Canal Bueno, or good Channel, is at least six miles in breadth; and, as we had the wind large, we kept in a good depth of water, generally from twenty eight to thirty three fathom, and came not within a mile and a half distance of the breakers; though in all probability, if it had been necessary, we might have vetured much nearer, without incurring the least danger. At seven in the evening, we anchored in thirty three fathom muddy ground; the south part of the island bearing S. E. by S. a remarkable high point of the island W. by N. and the island Sebaco E. by N. Being thus arrived at this island of Quibo, the account of the place, and of our transactions there, shall be referred to the ensuing chapter.

## CHAP. VIII.

### *Our Proceedings at* QUIBO, *with an Account of the Place.*

THE next morning after our anchoring, an officer was dispatched on shore to discover the watering

place, who, having found it, returned before noon; and then we ſent the long-boat for a load of water, and, at the ſame time, we weighed, and ſtood farther in with our ſhips. At two, we came again to an anchor in twenty two fathom, with a bottom of rough gravel intermixed with broken ſhells; the watering place now bearing from us N. W. ½ N. only three quarters of a mile diſtant. A plan of the road where we lay, and of the eaſt end of the iſland, is to be ſeen in the 20th plate, where the ſoundings are laid down, ſuch as we found them, the latitude of the S. E. point of the iſland being, as hath been already mentioned, 7°: 20′ north.

This iſland of Quibo is extremely convenient for wooding and watering, ſince the trees grow cloſe to the high water mark, and a large rapid ſtream of freſh water runs over the ſandy beach into the ſea; ſo that we were little more than two days in laying in all the wood and water we wanted. The whole iſland is of a very moderate height, excepting one part. It conſiſts of a continued wood ſpread all over the whole ſurface of the country, which preſerves its verdure the year round. Amongſt the other wood, we found there abundance of caſſia, and a few lime-trees. It appeared ſingular to us, that conſidering the climate and the ſhelter, we ſhould ſee no other birds than parrots, parroquets, and mackaws; indeed of theſe laſt there were prodigious flights. Next to theſe birds, the animals we found in moſt plenty were monkeys and guanos, and theſe we frequently killed for food; for notwithſtanding there were many herds of deer upon the place, yet the difficulty of penetrating the woods prevented our coming near them; ſo that, though we ſaw them often, we killed only two during our ſtay. Our priſoners aſſured us that this iſland abounded with tygers; and we did once diſcover the print of a tyger's paw upon the beach, but the tygers themſelves we never ſaw. The Spaniards too informed us, that there was frequently found in the woods a moſt miſchievous ſerpent, called the flying ſnake, which, they ſaid, darted itſelf from the boughs of trees on either man or beaſt that came within its reach, and whoſe ſting they believed to be inevitable death. Beſides theſe dangerous land-animals, the ſea hereabouts is infeſted with great numbers of alligators of an extraordi-

nary ſize; and we often obſerved a large kind of flat fiſh, jumping a conſiderable height out of the water, which we ſuppoſed to be the fiſh that is ſaid frequently to deſtroy the pearl divers, by claſping them in its fins as they riſe from the bottom; and we were told, that the divers, for their ſecurity, are now always armed with a ſharp knife, which, when they are entangled, they ſtick into the belly of the fiſh, and thereby diſengage themſelves from its embraces.

Whilſt the ſhip continued here at anchor, the Commodore, attended by ſome of his officers, went in a boat to examine a bay which lay to the northward; and they afterwards ranged all along the eaſtern ſide of the iſland. And in the places where they put on ſhore, in the courſe of this expedition, they generally found the ſoil to be extremely rich, and met with great plenty of excellent water. In particular, near the N. E. point of this iſland, they diſcovered a natural caſcade, which ſurpaſſed, as they conceived, every thing of this kind which human art or induſtry hath hitherto produced. It was a river of tranſparent water, about forty yards wide, which rolled down a declivity of near a hundred and fifty in length. The channel it fell in was very irregular; for it was entirely compoſed of rock, both its ſides and bottom being made up of large detached blocks; and by theſe the courſe of the water was frequently interrupted; for in ſome parts it ran ſloping, with a rapid but uniform motion, while in others it tumbled over the ledges of rocks with a perpendicular deſcent.

All the neighbourhood of this ſtream was a fine wood; and even the huge maſſes of rock which overhung the water, and which, by their various projections, formed the inequalities of the channel, were covered with lofty foreſt trees. Whilſt the Commodore, with thoſe accompanying him, were attentively viewing this place, and were remarking the different bendings of the water, the rocks and the wood, there came in ſight (as it were ſtill to heighten and animate the proſpect) a prodigious flight of mackaws, which hovering over this ſpot, and often wheeling and playing on the wing about it, afforded a moſt brilliant appearance, by the glittering of the ſun on their

variegated plumage; ſo that ſome of the ſpectators cannot refrain from a kind of tranſport when they recount the complicated beauties which occurred in this extraordinary water-fall.

In this expedition which the boat made along the eaſtern ſide of the iſland, though they diſcovered no inhabitants, yet they ſaw many huts upon the ſhore, and great heaps of ſhells of fine mother of pearl, ſcattered up and down in different places. Theſe were the remains left by the pearl fiſhers from Panama, who often frequent this place in the ſummer ſeaſon; for the pearl oyſters, which are to be met with every where in the bay of Panama, do ſo abound at Quibo, that, by advancing a very little way into the ſea, you might ſtoop down and reach them from the bottom. They are uſually very large, and out of curioſity we opened ſome of them with a view of taſting them, but we found them extremely tough and unpalatable. And having mentioned theſe oyſters, and the pearl fiſhery, I muſt beg leave to recite a few particulars relating to that ſubject.

The oyſters moſt productive of Pearl are thoſe found in conſiderable depths; for though what are taken up by wading near the ſhore are of the ſame ſpecies, yet the pearls they contain are few in number, and very ſmall. It is ſaid too, that the pearl partakes, in ſome degree, of the quality of the bottom on which the oyſter is lodged; ſo that if the bottom be muddy, the pearl is dark and ill coloured.

The taking up of oyſters from great depths, for the ſake of their pearls, is a work performed by negro ſlaves, of which the inhabitants of Panama, and the neighbouring coaſt, formerly kept vaſt numbers, which were carefully trained to this buſineſs. Theſe are ſaid not to be eſteemed complete divers, till they have, by degrees, been able to protract their ſtay under water ſo long, that the blood guſhes out from their noſe, mouth, and ears. And it is the tradition of the country, that when this accident has once befallen them, they dive for the future with much greater facility than before; and they have no apprehenſion either that any inconveniency can attend it, the bleed-

ing generally ſtopping of itſelf, or that there is any probability of their being ever ſubject to it a ſecond time. But to return from this digreſſion.

Though the pearl oyſter, as hath been ſaid, was incapable of being eaten, yet that defect was more than repaid by the turtle; a dainty which the ſea at this place furniſhed us with in the greateſt plenty and perfection. There are generally reckoned four ſpecies of turtle; that is, the trunk-turtle, the loger head, the hawkſbill, and the green-turtle. The two firſt are rank and unwholeſome; the hawkſbill (which affords the tortoiſe ſhell) is but indifferent food, though better than the other two; but the green turtle is generally eſteemed, by the greateſt part of thoſe who were acquainted with its taſte, to be the moſt delicious of all eatables; and that it is a moſt wholeſome food, we are amply convinced by our own experience; for we fed on this laſt ſpecies, or the green turtle, near four months; and conſequently, had it been in any degree noxious, its ill effects could not poſſibly have eſcaped us. At this iſland we caught what quantity we pleaſed with great facility; for as they are an amphibious animal, and get on ſhore to lay their eggs; which they generally depoſite in a large hole in the ſand, juſt above the high water mark, covering them up, and leaving them to be hatched by the heat of the ſun, we uſually diſperſed ſeveral of our men along the beach, whoſe buſineſs it was to turn them on their backs when they came to land; and the turtle being thereby prevented from getting away, we brought them off at our leiſure. By this means we not only ſecured a ſufficient ſtock for the time we ſtaid on the iſland, but we carried a number of them with us to ſea, which proved of great ſervice, both in lengthening out our ſtore of proviſion, and in heartening the whole crew with an almoſt conſtant ſupply of freſh and palatable food. For the turtle being large, they generally weighing about 2co lb. weight each; thoſe we took with us laſted near a month; ſo that before our ſtore was ſpent, we met with a freſh recruit on the coaſt of Mexico, where, in the heat of the day, we often ſaw great numbers of them faſt aſleep, floating on the ſurface of the water. Upon diſcovering them, we uſually ſent out our boat, with a man in the bow, who was a dextrous diver; and as the boat came

within a few yards of the turtle, the diver plunged into the water, taking care to riſe cloſe upon it, when ſeizing the ſhell near the tail, and preſſing down the hinder parts, the turtle was thereby awakened, and began to ſtrike with its claws; which motion ſupported both it and the diver, till the boat came up and took them in. By this management we never wanted turtle for the ſucceeding four months in which we continued at ſea; and though when at the iſland of Quibo, we had already been three months on board, without otherwiſe putting our feet on ſhore, than in the few days we ſtaid there (except thoſe employed in the attack at Paita) yet, in the whole ſeven months, from our leaving Juan Fernandes, to our anchoring in the harbour of Chequetan, we buried no more in the whole ſquadron than two men; a moſt inconteſtible proof, that the turtle on which we fed for the laſt four months of this term, was at leaſt innocent, if not ſomething more.

Conſidering the ſcarcity of other proviſions on ſome part of the coaſt of the South Seas, it appears wonderful, that a ſpecies of food, ſo very palatable and ſalubrious as turtle, and there ſo much abounding, ſhould be proſcribed by the Spaniards as unwholeſome, and little leſs than poiſonous. Perhaps the ſtrange appearance of this animal may have been the foundation of this ridiculous and ſuperſtitious averſion, which is ſtrongly rooted in the inhabitants of thoſe countries, and of which we had many inſtances during the courſe of this navigation. I have already obſerved, that we put our Spaniſh priſoners on ſhore at Paita, and that the Glouceſter ſent theirs to Manta; but as we had taken in our prizes ſome Indian and Negro ſlaves, we did not diſmiſs them with their maſters, but continued them on board, as our crews were thin, to aſſiſt in navigating our ſhips. Theſe poor people being poſſeſſed with the prejudices of the country they came from, were aſtoniſhed at our feeding on turtle, and ſeemed fully perſuaded that it would ſoon deſtroy us; but finding that none of us died, nor even ſuffered in our health by a continuation of this diet, they at laſt got ſo far the better of their averſion, as to be perſuaded to taſte it, to which the abſence of all other kinds of freſh proviſions might not a little contribute. However, it was with great reluctance, and very ſparingly, that they firſt began to eat of it; but

the reliſh improving upon them by degrees, they at laſt grew extremely fond of it, and preferred it to every other kind of food, and often ſelicitated each other on the happy experience they had acquired, and the luxurious and plentiful repaſts it would always be in their power to procure, when they ſhould again return back to their own country. Thoſe who are acquainted with the manner of life of theſe unhappy wretches, need not be told, that next to large draughts of ſpirituous liquors, plenty of tolerable food is the greateſt joy they know: and conſequently, the diſcovering the means of being always ſupplied with what quantity they pleaſed of a food more delicious to the palate than any their haughty lords and maſters could indulge in, was doubtleſs a circumſtance which they conſidered as the moſt fortunate that could befal them. After this digreſſion, which the prodigious quantity of turtle on this iſland of Quibo, and the ſtore of it we thence took to ſea, in ſome meaſure led me into, I ſhall now return to our own proceedings.

In three days time we had completed our buſineſs at this place, and were extremely impatient to depart, that we might arrive time enough on the coaſt of Mexico to intercept the Manila galeon. But the wind being contrary, detained us a night; and the next day, when we got into the offing, which we did through the ſame channel by which we entered, we were obliged to keep hovering about the iſland, in hopes of getting ſight of the Glouceſter, who, as I have in the laſt chapter mentioned, was ſeparated from us on our firſt arrival. It was the ninth of December, in the morning, when we put to ſea; and continuing to the ſouthward of the iſland, looking out for the Glouceſter, we, on the 10th, at five in the afternoon, diſcerned a ſmall ſail to the northward of us, to which we gave chace, and coming up with her, took her. She proved to be a bark from Panama, called the Jeſu Nazareno. She had nothing on board but ſome oakum, about a ton of rock ſalt, and between £. 30 and £. 40 in ſpecie, moſt of it conſiſting of ſmall ſilver money, intended for purchaſing a cargo of proviſions at Cheripe, an inconſiderable village on the continent.

And on occaſion of this prize, I cannot but obſerve, for

the uſe of future cruiſers, that had we been in want of proviſions, we had by this capture an obvious method of ſupplying ourſelves. For at Cheripe there is a conſtant ſtore of proviſions prepared for the veſſels who go thither every week from Panama, the market of Panama being chiefly ſupplied from thence; ſo that by putting a few of our hands on board our prize, we might eaſily have ſeized a large quantity without any hazard, ſince Cheripe is a place of no ſtrength. As proviſions are the ſtaple commodity of that place, and of its neighbourhood, the knowledge of this circumſtance may be of great uſe to ſuch cruiſers as find their proviſions grow ſcant, and yet are deſirous of continuing on that coaſt as long as poſſible. But to return:

On the 12th of December, we were at laſt relieved from the perplexity we had ſuffered, occaſioned by the ſeparation of the Glouceſter; for on that day ſhe joined us, and informed us, that in tacking to the ſouthward on our firſt arrival, ſhe had ſprung her fore top-maſt, which had diſabled her from working to windward, and prevented her from joining us ſooner. And now we ſcuttled and ſunk the Jeſu Nazareno, the prize we took laſt; and having the greateſt impatience to get into a proper ſtation for intercepting the Manila galeon, we ſtood altogether to the weſtward, leaving the iſland of Quibo, notwithſtanding all the impediments we met with, about nine days after our firſt coming in ſight of it.

## CHAP. IX.

### *From* Quibo *to the Coaſt of* Mexico.

ON the 12th of December, we ſtood from Quibo to the weſtward, and the ſame day, the Commodore delivered freſh inſtructions to the captains of the men of war, and the commanders of our prizes, appointing them the rendezvouſes they were to make, and the courſes they were to ſteer in caſe of a ſeparation. And firſt they were directed to uſe all poſſible diſpatch in getting to the northward of the harbour of Acapulco, where they were to endeavour to fall in with the land between the latitudes

of 18 and 19 degrees; from thence they were to beat up the coaſt at eight or ten leagues diſtance from the ſhore, till they came a-breaſt of Cape Corientes, in the latitude of 20°: 20′. After they arrived there, they were to continue cruiſing on that ſtation till the 14th of February, when they were to depart from the middle iſland of the Tres Marias, in the latitude of 21°: 25′, bearing from Cape Corientes N. W. by N twenty five leagues diſtant: and if, at this iſland, they did not meet the Commodore, they were there to recruit their wood and water, and then immediately to proceed for the iſland of Macao, on the coaſt of China. Theſe orders being diſtributed to all the ſhips, we had little doubt of arriving ſoon upon our intended ſtation, as we expected, upon the increaſing our offing from Quibo, to fall in with the regular trade wind; but, to our extreme vexation, we were baffled for near a month, either by tempeſtuous weather from the weſtern quarter, or by dead calms and heavy rains, attended with a ſultry air: ſo that it was the 25th of December before we ſaw the iſland of Cocos, which, according to our reckoning, was only a hundred leagues from the continent; and even then we had the mortification to make ſo little way, that we did not loſe ſight of it again in five days.

This iſland we found to be in the latitude of 5°: 20′ N. It has a high hummock towards the weſtern part, which deſcends gradually, and, at laſt, terminates in a low point to the eaſtward. From the iſland of Cocos we ſtood W. by N. and were till the 9th of January in running a hundred leagues more. We had, at firſt, flattered ourſelves, that the uncertain weather, and weſtern gales we met with, were owing to the neighbourhood of the continent, from which, as we got more diſtant, we expected every day to be relieved, by falling in with the eaſtern trade wind: but, as our hopes were ſo long baffled, and our patience quite exhauſted, we began at length to deſpair of ſucceeding in the great purpoſe we had in view, that of intercepting the Manila galeon. This produced a general dejection amongſt us, as we had at firſt conſidered the project as almoſt infallible, and had indulged ourſelves in the moſt boundleſs hopes of the advantages we ſhould thence receive. However, our deſpondency was at laſt ſomewhat alleviated by a favoura-

ble change of the wind; for, on the 9th of January, a gale ſprung up the firſt time from the N. E. and, on this, we took the Carmelo in tow, as the Glouceſter did the Carmin, making all the ſail we could to improve the advantage, becauſe we ſtill ſuſpected that it was only a temporary gale, which would not laſt long; though, the next day, we had the ſatisfaction to find, that the wind did not only continue in the ſame quarter, but blew with ſo much briſkneſs and ſteadineſs, that we no longer doubted of its being the true trade wind. As we now advanced a pace towards our ſtation, our hopes began again to revive, and our former deſpair, by degrees, gave place to more ſanguine prejudices; inſomuch that, although the cuſtomary ſeaſon of the arrival of the galeon at Acapulco was already elapſed, yet we were, by this time, unreaſonable enough to flatter ourſelves that ſome accidental delay might, for our advantage, lengthen out her paſſage beyond its uſual limits.

When we got into the trade wind, we found no alteration in it till the 17th of January, when we were advanced to the latitude of 12°: 50′; but on that day it ſhifted to the weſtward of the north: this change we imputed to our having haled up too ſoon, though we then eſteemed ourſelves full ſeventy leagues from the coaſt; whence, and by our former experience, we were fully ſatisfied, that the trade wind doth not take place but at a conſiderable diſtance from the continent. After this the wind was not ſo favourable to us as it had been; however, we ſtill continued to advance; and, on the 26th of January, being then to the northward of Acapulco, we tacked and ſtood to the eaſtward, with a view of making the land.

In the preceding fortnight we caught ſome turtle on the ſurface of the water, and ſeveral dolphins, bonitoes, and albicores. One day, as one of the ſail maker's mates was fiſhing from the end of the gib-boom, he loſt his hold and dropped into the ſea; and the ſhip, which was then going at the rate of ſix or ſeven knots, went directly over him; but as we had the Carmelo in tow, we inſtantly called out to the people on board her, who threw him over ſeveral ends of ropes, one of which he fortunate-

ly caught hold of, and, twiſting it round his arm, he was thereby hauled into the ſhip, without having received any other injury than a wrench in the arm, of which he ſoon recovered.

When, on the 26th of January, we ſtood to the eaſtward, we expected, by our reckonings, to have fallen in with the land on the 28th, yet, though the weather was perfectly clear, we had no ſight of it at ſun ſet, and therefore we continued our courſe, not doubting but that we ſhould ſee it by the next morning. About ten at night we diſcovered a light on the larboard bow, bearing from us N. N. E. The Tryal's prize too, which was about a mile a head of us, made a ſignal at the ſame time, for ſeeing a ſail. As we had none of us any doubt but what we ſaw was a ſhip's light, we were all extremely animated with a firm perſuaſion, that it was the Manila galeon, which had been ſo long the object of our wiſhes; and, what added to our alacrity, was our expectation of meeting with two of them inſtead of one; for we took it for granted, that the light in view was carried in the top of one ſhip for a direction to her conſort. We immediately caſt off the Carmelo, and preſſed forward with all our canvaſs, making a ſignal for the Glouceſter to do the ſame. Thus we chaſed the light, keeping all our hands at their reſpective quarters, under an expectation of engaging within half an hour, as we ſometimes conceived the chace to be about a mile diſtant, and at other times, to be within reach of our guns; for ſome on board us poſitively averred, that, beſides the light, they could plainly diſcern her ſails. The Commodore himſelf was ſo fully perſuaded, that we ſhould be ſoon along ſide of her, that he ſent for his firſt lieutenant, who commanded between decks, and directed him to ſee all the great guns loaded with two round ſhot for the firſt broad ſide, and after that with one round ſhot and one grape, ſtrictly charging him at the ſame time, not to ſuffer a gun to be fired till he (the Commodore) ſhould give orders, which he informed the lieutenant, would not be till we arrived within piſtol ſhot of the enemy. In this conſtant and eager attention we continued all night, always preſuming, that another quarter of an hour would bring us up with this Manila ſhip, whoſe wealth and that of her ſuppoſed conſort, we now eſtimated by round mil-

lions. But, when the morning broke, and day light came on, we were moſt ſtrangely and vexatiouſly diſappointed, by finding that the light which had occaſioned all this buſtle and expectancy, was only a fire on the ſhore. It muſt be owned the circumſtances of this deception were ſo extraordinary as to be ſcarcely credible; for, by our run during the night, and the diſtance of the land in the morning, there was no doubt to be made but this fire, when we firſt diſcovered it, was above twenty-five leagues from us; and yet, I believe, there was no perſon on board who doubted of its being a ſhip's light, or of its being near at hand. It was indeed upon a very high mountain, and continued burning for ſeveral days afterwards; however, it was not a volcano, but rather, as I ſuppoſe, a tract of ſtubble or heath, ſet on fire for ſome purpoſe of agriculture.

At ſun riſing, after this mortifying deluſion, we found ourſelves about nine leagues off the land, which extended from the N. W. to E. $\frac{1}{2}$ N. On this land we obſerved two remarkable hammocks, ſuch as are uſually called paps, which bore north from us. Theſe, a Spaniſh pilot, and two Indians, who were the only perſons amongſt us that pretended to have traded in this part of the world, affirmed to be over the harbour of Acapulco. Indeed, we very much doubted their knowledge of the coaſt; for we found theſe paps to be in the latitude of 17°: 56′, whereas thoſe over Acapulco are ſaid to be ſeventeen degrees only: and we afterwards found our ſuſpicions of their ſkill to be well grounded: however, they were very confident, and aſſured us, that the height of the mountains, was itſelf an infallible mark of the harbour, the coaſt, as they pretended, though falſely, being generally low to the eaſtward and weſtward of it.

Being now in the track of the Manila galeon, it was a great doubt with us, as it was near the end of January, whether ſhe was or was not arrived; but examining our priſoners about it, they aſſured us ſhe was ſometimes known to come in after the middle of February; and they endeavoured to perſuade us, that the fire we had ſeen on ſhore was a proof that ſhe was yet at ſea; it being cuſtomary, as they ſaid, to make uſe of theſe fires as ſignals

for her direction, when ſhe continued longer out than ordinary. On this reaſoning of our priſoners, ſtrengthened by our propenſity to believe them in a matter, which ſo pleaſingly flattered our wiſhes, we reſolved to cruiſe for her ſome days; and, we accordingly ſpread our ſhips, at the diſtance of twelve leagues from the coaſt, in ſuch a manner, that it was impoſſible ſhe ſhould paſs us unobſerved; however, not ſeeing her ſoon, we were at intervals inclined to ſuſpect that ſhe had gained her port already; and as we now began to want a harbour to refreſh our people, the uncertainty of our preſent ſituation gave us great uneaſineſs, and we were very ſolicitous to get ſome poſitive intelligence, which might either ſet us at liberty to conſult our neceſſities, if the galeon was arrived, or might animate us to continue our preſent cruiſe with chearfulneſs, if ſhe was not. With this view the Commodore, after examining our priſoners very particularly, reſolved to ſend a boat, under the cover of the night, into the harbour of Acapulco, to ſee if the Manila ſhip was there or not, one of the Indians being very poſitive that this might be done, without the boat itſelf being diſcovered. To execute this enterpriſe, the barge was diſpatched the 6th of February, carrying a ſufficient crew, and two officers, as alſo a Spaniſh pilot, with the Indian, who had inſiſted on the facility of his project, and had undertaken to conduct it. Our barge did not return to us again till the 11th, when the officers acquainted Mr. Anſon, that, agreeable to our ſuſpicion, there was nothing like a harbour in the place, where the Spaniſh pilot had at firſt aſſerted Acapulco to lie; that, after they had ſatisfied themſelves in this particular, they ſteered to the eaſtward, in hopes of diſcovering it, and had coaſted along ſhore thirty two leagues; that, in this whole range, they met chiefly with ſandy beaches of a great length, over which the ſea broke with ſo much violence that it was impoſſible for a boat to land; that, at the end of their run, they could juſt diſcover two paps at a very great diſtance to the eaſtward, which, from their appearance, and their latitude, they concluded to be thoſe in the neighbourhood of Acapulco; but that, not having a ſufficient quantity of freſh water and proviſion for their paſſage thither and back again, they were obliged to return to the Commodore, to acquaint him with their diſappointment. On this intelli-

gence, we all made ſail to the eaſtward, in order to get into the neighbourhood of that port, the Commodore being determined to ſend the barge a ſecond time upon the ſame enterpriſe, when we were arrived within a moderate diſtance. Accordingly the next day, which was the 12th of February, we being by that time conſiderably advanced, the barge was again diſpatched, and particular inſtructions given to the officers to preſerve themſelves from being ſeen from the ſhore. On the 13th, we eſpied a high land to the eaſtward, which was firſt imagined to be that over the harbour of Acapulco; but we afterwards found that it was the high land of Seguateneio, where there is a ſmall harbour, of which we ſhall have occaſion to make more ample mention hereafter. We waited ſix days from the departure of our barge without any news of her, ſo that we began to be uneaſy for her ſafety; but on the 7th day, that is, on the 19th of February, ſhe returned; when the officers informed the Commodore, that they had diſcovered the harbour of Acapulco, which they eſteemed to bear from us E. S. E at leaſt fifty leagues diſtant: that on the 17th, about two in the morning, they were got within the iſland that lies at the mouth of the harbour, and yet neither the Spaniſh pilot, nor the Indian, could give them any information where they then were; but that, while they were lying upon their oars in ſuſpence what to do, being ignorant that they were then in the very place they ſought for, they diſcerned a ſmall light near the ſurface of the water, on which they inſtantly plied their paddles; and, moving as ſilently as poſſible towards it, they found it to be in a fiſhing canoe, which they ſurpriſed, with three negroes that belonged to it. It ſeems the negroes at firſt attempted to jump over board, and being ſo near the ſhore, they would eaſily have ſwam to land; but they were prevented by preſenting a piece at them, on which they readily ſubmitted, and were taken into the barge. The officers further added, that they had immediately turned the canoe adrift againſt the face of a rock, where it would inevitably be daſhed to pieces by the fury of the ſea. This they did to deceive thoſe who perhaps might be ſent from the town to ſearch after the canoe; for upon ſeeing ſeveral remains of a wreck, they would immediately conclude, that the people on board her had been drowned, and would have no ſuſpicion of

their having fallen into our hands. When the crew of the barge had taken this precaution, they exerted their utmoſt ſtrength in pulling out to ſea, and by dawn of the day, had gained ſuch an offing as rendered it impoſſible for them to be ſeen from the coaſt.

Having now gotten the three negroes in our poſſeſſion, who were not ignorant of the tranſactions at Acapulco, we were ſoon ſatisfied about the moſt material points which had long kept us in ſuſpence. On examining them, we found, that we were indeed diſappointed in our expectation of our intercepting the galeon before her arrival at Acapulco; but we learned other circumſtances which ſtill revived our hopes, and which, we then conceived, would more than balance the opportunity we had already loſt: for though our negro priſoners informed us, that the galeon arrived at Acapulco on our 9th of January, which was about twenty days before we fell in with this coaſt; yet they, at the ſame time, told us that the galeon had delivered her cargo, and was taking in water and proviſions in order to return, and that the viceroy of Mexico had, by proclamation, fixed her departure from Acapulco to the 14th of March N. S. This laſt news was moſt joyfully received by us, ſince we had no doubt but ſhe muſt certainly fall into our hands; and it was much more eligible to ſeize her on her return, than it would have been to have taken her before her arrival, as the ſpecie for which ſhe had ſold her cargo, and which ſhe would now have on board, would be prodigiouſly more to be eſteemed by us than the cargo itſelf, great part of which would have periſhed on our hands, and none of it could have been diſpoſed of by us, at ſo advantageous a mart as Acapulco.

Thus we were a ſecond time engaged, in an eager expectation of meeting with this Manila ſhip, which, by the fame of its wealth, we had been taught to conſider, as the moſt deſirable capture that was to be made on any part of the ocean. But ſince all our future projects will be, in ſome ſort, regulated with a view to the poſſeſſion of this celebrated galeon, and ſince the commerce which is carried on by means of theſe veſſels between the city of Manila, and the port of Acapulco, is, perhaps, the moſt valuable, in pro-

portion to its quantity, of any in the known world, I ſhall endeavour, in the enſuing chapter, to give as circumſtantial an account as I can, of all the particulars relating thereto, both as it is a matter in which I conceive the public to be in ſome degree intereſted, and as I flatter myſelf, that, from the materials which have fallen into my hands, I am enabled to deſcribe it with more diſtinctneſs than has hitherto been done, at leaſt in our language.

## CHAP. X.

*An Account of the* COMMERCE *carried on between the City of* MANILA *on the Iſland of* LUCONIA, *and the Port of* ACAPULCO *on the coaſt of* MEXICO.

ABOUT the end of the 15th century, and the beginning of the 16th, the ſearching after new countries, and new branches of commerce, was the reigning paſſion among ſeveral of the European princes. But thoſe who engaged moſt deeply and fortunately in theſe purſuits, were the kings of Spain and Portugal, the firſt of them having diſcovered the immenſe and opulent continent of America, and its adjacent iſlands, whilſt the other, by doubling the Cape of Good Hope, had opened to his fleets a paſſage to the ſouthern coaſt of Aſia, uſually called the Eaſt Indies; and by his ſettlements in that part of the globe, became poſſeſſed of many of the manufactures, and natural productions, with which it abounded, and which, for ſome ages, had been the wonder and delight of the more poliſhed and luxurious part of mankind.

In the mean time, theſe two nations of Spain and Portugal, who were thus proſecuting the ſame views, though in different quarters of the world, grew extremely jealous of each other, and became apprehenſive of mutual encroachments; and therefore, to quiet their jealouſies, and to enable them with more tranquillity to purſue the propagation of the Catholic faith in theſe diſtant countries, (they having, both of them, given diſtinguiſhed marks of their zeal for their mother church, by their butchery of innocent Pagans) Pope Alexander VI. granted to the Spaniſh crown, the property and dominion of all places,

either already diſcovered, or that ſhould be diſcovered, an hundred leagues to the weſtward of the iſlands of Azores, leaving all the unknown countries to the eaſtward of this limit, to the induſtry and diſquiſition of the Portugueſe. And this boundary being afterwards removed two hundred and fifty leagues more to the weſtward by the agreements of both nations, it was imagined, that this regulation would have ſuppreſſed all the ſeeds of future conteſts; for the Spaniards preſumed, that the Portugueſe would be hereby prevented from meddling with their colonies in America: and the Portugueſe ſuppoſed, that their Eaſt-India ſettlements, and particularly the ſpice-iſlands, which they had then newly found out, were forever ſecured from any attempts of the Spaniſh nation.

But it ſeems, the infallibility of the holy father had, on this occaſion, deſerted him, and, for want of being more converſant in geography, he had not foreſeen, that the Spaniards, by purſuing their diſcoveries to the weſt, and the Portugueſe to the eaſt, might at laſt meet with each other, and be again embroiled, as it actually happened within a few years afterwards. For Ferdinand Magellan, an officer in the king of Portugal's ſervice, having received ſome diſguſt from the court, either by the defalcation of his pay, or by having his parts, as he conceived, too cheaply conſidered, he entered into the ſervice of the king of Spain. As he appears to have been a man of ability, he was deſirous of ſignalizing his talents in ſome enterpriſe which might prove extremely vexatious to his former maſters, and might teach them to eſtimate his worth, from the greatneſs of the miſchief he brought upon them; this being the moſt obvious and natural turn of all fugitives, more eſpecially of thoſe who, being really men of capacity, have quitted their country, by reaſon of the ſmall account that has been made of them. Magellan, in purſuance of theſe vindictive views, knowing that the Portugueſe conſidered their traffic to the ſpice-iſlands, as their moſt important acquiſition in the eaſt, reſolved with himſelf to inſtigate the court of Spain to an attempt, which, by ſtill puſhing their diſcoveries to the weſtward, would give them a right to interfere, both in the property and commerce of theſe renowned countries; and the king of Spain, approving of this project, Magellan, in the year

1519, ſet ſail from the port of Sevil, in order to carry this enterpriſe into execution. He had with him a conſiderable force, conſiſting of five ſhips, and two hundred and thirty four men, with which he ſtood for the coaſt of South America, and, ranging along the ſhore, he at length, towards the end of October 1520, had the good fortune to diſcover thoſe Straits, which have ſince been denominated from him, and which opened him a paſſage into the South Seas. This, which was the firſt part of his ſcheme, being thus happily accompliſhed, he, after ſome ſtay on the coaſt of Peru, ſet ſail again to the weſtward, with a view of falling in with the ſpice iſlands. In this extenſive run acroſs the Pacific ocean, he firſt diſcovered the Ladrones, or Marian iſlands; and continuing on his courſe, he at length reached the Philippine iſlands, which are the moſt eaſtern part of Aſia, where, venturing on ſhore, in an hoſtile manner, and ſkirmiſhing with the Indians, he was ſlain.

By the death of Magellan, his original project of ſecuring ſome of the ſpice iſlands, was defeated: for thoſe who were left in command contented themſelves with ranging through them, and purchaſing ſome ſpices from the natives; after which, they returned home round the Cape of Good Hope, being the firſt ſhips which had ever ſurrounded this terraqueous globe; and thereby demonſtrated, by a palpable experiment, obvious to the groſſeſt and moſt vulgar capacity, the reality of its long-diſputed ſpherical figure.

But though Spain did not hereby acquire the property of any of the ſpice iſlands, yet the diſcovery of the Philippines, made in this expedition, was thought too conſiderable to be neglected; ſince theſe were not far diſtant from thoſe places which produced ſpices, and were very well ſituated for the Chineſe trade, and for the commerce of other parts of India. A communication, therefore, was ſoon eſtabliſhed, and carefully ſupported between theſe iſlands and the Spaniſh colonies on the coaſt of Peru; whence the city of Manila, (which was built on the iſland of Luconia, the chief of the Philippines) became, in a ſhort time, the mart of all Indian commodities, which were bought up by the inhabitants, and were annually ſent to

the South Seas to be there vended on their account; and the returns of this commerce to Manila, being principally made in ſilver, the place by degrees grew extremely opulent, and its trade ſo far increaſed, as to engage the attention of the court of Spain, and to be frequently controlled and regulated by royal edicts.

In the infancy of this trade, it was carried on from the port of Callao to the city of Manila, in which navigation the trade wind continually favoured them; ſo that, notwithſtanding theſe places were diſtant between three and four thouſand leagues, yet the voyage was often made in little more than two months; but then the return from Manila was extremely troubleſome and tedious, and is ſaid to have ſometimes laſted above a twelvemonth; which, if they pretended to ply up within the limits of the trade wind, is not at all to be wondered at. Indeed tho' it is aſſerted, that, in their firſt voyages, they were ſo imprudent and unſkilful as to attempt this courſe, yet that route was ſoon laid aſide, by the advice, as it is ſaid, of a Jeſuit, who perſuaded them to ſteer to the northward till they got clear of the trade winds, and then by favour of the weſterly winds, which generally prevail in high latitudes, to ſtretch away for the coaſt of California. This, we know, hath been the practice, for at leaſt a hundred and ſixty years paſt; as Sir Thomas Cavendiſh, in the year 1586, engaged, off the ſouth end of California, a veſſel bound from Manila to the American coaſt. And it was in compliance with this new plan of navigation, and to ſhorten the run both backwards and forwards, that the ſtaple of this commerce to and from Manila was removed from Callao, on the coaſt of Peru, to the point of Acapulco, on the coaſt of Mexico, where it continues fixed to this time.

Such was the commencement, and ſuch were the early regulations of this commerce; but its preſent condition being a much more intereſting ſubject, I muſt beg leave to dwell longer on this head, and to be indulged in a more particular narration, beginning with a deſcription of the iſland of Luconia, and of the port and bay of Manila.

The iſland of Luconia, though ſituated in the latitude

of 15° north, is eſteemed to be in general extremely healthy, and the water, that is found upon it, is ſaid to be the beſt in the world. It produces all the fruits of the warm climates, and abounds in a moſt excellent breed of horſes, ſuppoſed to be carried thither firſt from Spain. It is very well ſeated for the Indian and Chineſe trade: and the bay and port of Manila, which lies on its weſtern ſide, is, perhaps, the moſt remarkable on the whole globe, the bay being a large circular baſon, near ten leagues in diameter, great part of it entirely land locked. On the eaſt ſide of this bay ſtands the city of Manila, which is large and populous, and which, at the beginning of this war, was only an open place, its principal defence conſiſting in a ſmall fort, which was almoſt ſurrounded on every ſide by houſes: but they have lately made conſiderable additions to its fortifications; though I have not yet learned after what manner. The port peculiar to the city is called Cabite, and lies near two leagues to the ſouthward; and in this port all the ſhips employed for the Acapulco trade are uſually ſtationed. As I have never ſeen but one engraved plan of this bay, and that in an uncommon collection, I have added, in the thirty third plate, a plan which fell into my hands, and which differs conſiderably from that already publiſhed; but I cannot pretend to decide which of the two is moſt to be relied on.

The city of Manila itſelf is in a healthy ſituation, is well watered, and is in the neighbourhood of a very fruitful and plentiful country; but as the principal buſineſs of this place is its trade to Acapulco, it lies under ſome diſadvantage, from the difficulty there is in getting to ſea to the eaſtward; for the paſſage is among iſlands and through channels, where the Spaniards, by reaſon of their unſkilfulneſs in marine affairs, waſte much time, and are often in great danger. Theſe inconveniences will be better apprehended by the reader from the draught of the iſland of Luconia, and of its neighbouring iſles (Plate XXVI.) which was taken from the enemy, and had been newly drawn and corrected but a ſhort time before.

The trade carried on from this place to China, and different parts of India, is principally for ſuch commodities as are intended to ſupply the kingdoms of Mexico and Pe-

ru. These are ſpices, all ſorts of Chineſe ſilks and manufactures, particularly ſilk ſtockings, of which I have heard, that no leſs than fifty thouſand pair were the uſual number ſhipped in each cargo; vaſt quantities of Indian ſtuffs, as Calicoes and chints, which are much worn in America, together with other minuter articles, as gold-ſmiths work, &c. which is principally wrought at the City Manila itſelf by the Chineſe; for it is ſaid there are at leaſt twenty thouſand Chineſe who conſtantly reſide there, either as ſervants, manufacturers, or brokers. All theſe different commodities are collected at Manila, thence to be tranſported annually in one or more ſhips, to Acapulco, in the kingdom of Mexico.

This trade to Acapulco is not laid open to all the inhabitants of Manila, but is confined by very particular regulations, ſomewhat analogous to thoſe by which the trade of the regiſter ſhips from Cadiz to the Weſt Indies is reſtrained. The ſhips employed herein are found by the king of Spain, who pays the officers and crew; and the tonage is divided into a certain number of bales, all of the ſame ſize. Theſe are diſtributed among the convents at Manila, but principally to the Jeſuits, as a donation to ſupport their miſſions for the propagation of the Catholic faith; and the convents have thereby a right to embark ſuch a quantity of goods on board the Manila ſhip as the tonage of their bales amounts to; or if they chuſe not to be concerned in trade themſelves, they have the power of ſelling this privilege to others; nor is it uncommon, when the merchant, to whom they ſell their ſhare, is unprovided of a ſtock, for the convents to lend him conſiderable ſums of money on bottomry.

The trade is, by the royal edicts, limited to a certain value, which the annual cargo ought not to exceed. Some Spaniſh manuſcripts, I have ſeen, mention this limitation to be 600,000 dollars; but the annual cargo does certainly ſurpaſs this ſum: and though it may be difficult to fix its exact value, yet, from many compariſons, I conclude, that the return cannot be much ſhort of three millions of dollars.

As it is ſufficiently obvious, that the greateſt ſhare of

the treaſure returned from Acapulco to Manila, does not remain in that place, but is again diſperſed into different parts of India; and as all European nations have generally eſteemed it good policy to keep their American ſettlements in an immediate dependence on their mother country, without permitting them to carry on directly any gainful traffic with other powers; theſe conſiderations have occaſioned many remonſtrances to be preſented to the court of Spain againſt this Indian trade, allowed to the kingdom of Mexico. It has been urged, that the ſilk manufactures of Valentia, and other parts of Spain, are hereby greatly prejudiced, and the linens carried from Cadiz much injured in their ſale; ſince the Chineſe ſilks, coming almoſt directly to Acapulco, can be afforded conſiderably cheaper there than any European manufactures of equal goodneſs; and the cotton from the Coromandel coaſt, make the European linens nearly uſeleſs; ſo that the Manila trade renders both Mexico and Peru leſs dependent upon Spain, for a ſupply of their neceſſities, than they ought to be, and exhauſts thoſe countries of a conſiderable quantity of ſilver, the greateſt part of which, were this trade prohibited, would center in Spain, either in payment for Spaniſh commodities, or in gains to the Spaniſh merchants; whereas, now, the only advantage which ariſes from it, is the enriching the Jeſuits, and a few particular perſons beſides, at the other extremity of the world. Theſe arguments did ſo far influence Don Joſeph Patinho, who was formerly prime miniſter, and an enemy to the Jeſuits, that, about the year 1725, he had reſolved to aboliſh this trade, and to have permitted no Indian commodities to be introduced into any of the Spaniſh ports in the Weſt-Indies, except ſuch as were brought thither by the regiſter ſhips from Europe. But the powerful intrigues of the Jeſuits prevented this regulation from taking place.

This trade from Manila to Acapulco, and back again, is uſually carried on in one, or, at moſt, two annual ſhips, which ſet ſail from Manila about July, and arrive at Acapulco in the December, January, or February, following: and having there diſpoſed of their effects, return from Manila ſome time in March, where they generally arrive in June; ſo that the whole voyage generally takes up very

near an entire year. For this reaſon, though there is often no more than one ſhip freighted at a time, yet there is always one ready for the ſea when the other arrives; and therefore the commerce at Manila is provided with three or four ſtout ſhips, that, in caſe of any accident, the trade may not be ſuſpended. The largeſt of theſe ſhips, whoſe name I have not learned, is deſcribed as little leſs than one of our firſt-rate men of war; and indeed ſhe muſt be of an enormous ſize, as it is known, that when ſhe was employed, with other ſhips of the ſame port, to cruiſe for our China trade, ſhe had no leſs than twelve hundred men on board. Their other ſhips, though far inferior in bulk to this, are yet ſtout large veſſels, of the burden of twelve hundred tons and upwards, and uſually carry from three hundred and fifty, to ſix hundred hands, paſſengers included, with fifty odd guns. As theſe are all king's ſhips, commiſſioned and paid by him, there is uſually one among the captains ſtyled the general, and he carries the royal ſtandard of Spain at the main top gallant-maſt head, as we ſhall more particularly obſerve hereafter.

And now, having deſcribed the city and port of Manila, and the ſhipping employed by its inhabitants, it is neceſſary to give a more circumſtantial detail of the navigation from thence to Acapulco. The ſhip having received her cargo on board, and being fitted for the ſea, generally weighs from the mole of Cabite about the middle of July, taking the advantage of the weſterly monſoon, which then ſets in. It appears, by the chart already referred to, that the getting through the channel called the Boccadero, to the eaſtward, muſt be a troubleſome navigation, and, in fact, it is ſometimes the end of Auguſt before they complete it. When they have cleared this paſſage, and are diſentangled from the iſland, they ſtand to the northward of the eaſt, till they arrive in the latitude of thirty degrees or upwards, where they expect to meet with weſterly winds, before which they ſtretch away for the coaſt of California. To give a better idea of the track which they hold in this navigation, I have inſerted, towards the latter end of the third book, the copy of a manuſcript chart that was taken on board one of theſe ſhips, on which I have laid down the particular route of this veſſel, both in her paſſage from

Manila to Acapulco, and from Acapulco back again. In this chart (as it was drawn for the uſe of the Spaniſh general) there are contained all the diſcoveries the Manila ſhips have at any time made in traverſing the vaſt ocean between the Philippine iſlands and the coaſt of Mexico; whence it appears how minute and inconſiderable thoſe fragments of land are which lie diſperſed in that prodigious ſea. It is indeed moſt remarkable, that by the concurrent teſtimony of all the Spaniſh navigators, there is not one port, nor even a tolerable road, as yet found out betwixt the Philippine iſlands and the coaſt of California; ſo that, from the time the Manila ſhip firſt loſes ſight of land, ſhe never lets go her anchor till ſhe arrives on the coaſt of California, and very often not till ſhe gets to its ſouthermoſt extremity. As this voyage is rarely of leſs than ſix months continuance, and the ſhip is deep laden with merchandiſe, and crowded with people, it may appear wonderful how they can be ſupplied with a ſtock of freſh water for ſo long a time. The method of procuring it is indeed extremely ſingular, and deſerves a very particular recital.

It is well known to thoſe who are acquainted with the Spaniſh cuſtoms in the South Seas, that their water is preſerved on ſhip board, not in caſks, but in earthen jars, which, in ſome ſort, reſemble the large oil jars we often ſee in Europe. When the Manila ſhip firſt puts to ſea, ſhe takes on board a much greater quantity of water than can be ſtowed between decks, and the jars which contain it, are hung all about the ſhrouds and ſtays, ſo as to exhibit, at a diſtance, a very odd appearance. Though it is one convenience of their jars that they are much more manageable than caſks, and are liable to no leakage, unleſs they are broken, yet it is ſufficiently obvious, that a ſix, or even a three months ſtore of water, could never be ſtowed in a ſhip ſo loaded, by any management whatever; and therefore, without ſome other ſupply, this navigation could not be performed. A ſupply indeed they have; but the reliance upon it ſeems, at firſt ſight, ſo extremely precarious, that it is wonderful ſuch numbers ſhould riſk the periſhing by the moſt dreadful of all deaths, on the expectation of a caſual relief. In ſhort, their only method of recruiting their water, is by the rains which they meet with between the latitudes of 30° and 40° north, and

which they are always prepared to catch. For this purpoſe, they take to ſea with them a great number of mats, which, whenever the rain deſcends, they range ſlopingly againſt the gun wale, from one end of the ſhip to the other, their lower edges reſting on a large ſplit bamboe; whence all the water which falls on the mats, drains into the bamboe, and by this, as a trough, is conveyed into a jar. And this method of furniſhing themſelves with water, however accidental or extraordinary it may at firſt ſight appear, hath never been known to fail them; but it hath been common for them, when their voyage is a little longer than uſual, to fill all their water jars ſeveral times over.

However, though their diſtreſſes for freſh water are much ſhort of what might be expected in ſo tedious a navigation, yet there are other inconveniences generally attendant upon a long continuance at ſea, from which they are not exempted. The principal of theſe is the ſcurvy, which ſometimes rages with extreme violence, and deſtroys great numbers of the people; but, at other times, their paſſage to Acapulco (of which alone I would be here underſtood to ſpeak) is performed with little loſs.

The length of time employed in this paſſage, ſo much beyond what uſually occurs in any other known navigation, is perhaps to be imputed to the indolence and unſkilfulneſs of the Spaniſh ſailors, and to an unneceſſary degree of caution, on pretence of the great riches of the veſſel: for it is ſaid, that they rarely ſet their main ſail in the night, and often lie by unneceſſarily. Thus much is certain, that the inſtructions given to their captains (which I have ſeen) ſeem to have been drawn up by ſuch as were more apprehenſive of too ſtrong a gale, though favourable, than of the inconveniences and mortality attending a lingering and tedious voyage. For the captain is particularly ordered to make his paſſage in the latitude of 30 degrees, if poſſible, and to be extremely careful to ſtand no farther to the northward than is abſolutely neceſſary for the getting a weſterly wind. This, according to our conceptions, appears to be a very abſurd reſtriction, ſince it can ſcarcely be doubted, but that, in the higher latitudes, the weſterly winds are much ſteadier and briſker than in the lati-

tude of 30 degrees. Indeed, the whole conduct of this navigation ſeems liable to very great cenſure; ſince if, inſtead of ſteering E. N. E. into the latitude of 30 degrees, they at firſt ſtood N. E. or even ſtill more northerly, into the latitude of 40 or 45 degrees, in part of which coaſt the trade winds would greatly aſſiſt them; I doubt not but by this management they might conſiderably contract their voyage, and perhaps perform it in half the time which is now allotted for it. This may, in ſome meaſure, be deduced from their own journals, ſince, in thoſe I have ſeen, it appears, that they are often a month or ſix weeks after their laying the land, before they get into the latitude of 30 degrees; whereas, with a more northerly courſe, it might eaſily be done in leſs than a fortnight. Now, when they were once well advanced to the northward, the weſterly winds would ſoon blow them over to the coaſt of California, and they would be thereby freed from the other embarraſſments to which they are at preſent ſubjected, only at the expence of a rough ſea and a ſtiff gale. This is not merely matter of ſpeculation: for I am credibly informed, that, about the year 1721, a French ſhip, by purſuing this courſe, ran from the coaſt of China to the valley of Vanderas, on the coaſt of Mexico, in leſs than fifty days: but it was ſaid, that notwithſtanding the ſhortneſs of her paſſage, ſhe ſuffered prodigiouſly by the ſcurvy, ſo that ſhe had only four or five of her crew remaining alive when ſhe arrived in America.

However, I ſhall deſcant no longer on the probability of performing this voyage in a much ſhorter time; but ſhall content myſelf with reciting the actual occurrences of the preſent navigation. The Manila ſhip having ſtood ſo far to the northward as to meet with a weſterly wind, ſtretches away nearly in the ſame latitude for the coaſt of California; and when ſhe has run into the longitude of about 100 degrees from Cape Eſpiritu Santo, ſhe generally finds a plant floating on the ſea, which, being called Porra by the Spaniards, is, I preſume, a ſpecies of ſea leek. On the ſight of this plant, they eſteem themſelves ſufficiently near the Californian ſhore, and immediately ſtand to the ſouthward; and they rely ſo much on this circumſtance, that, on the firſt diſcovery of the plant, the whole ſhip's company chant a ſolemn *Te Deum*, eſteeming the

difficulties and hazards of their paſſage to be now at an end; and they conſtantly correct their longitude thereby, without ever coming within ſight of land. After falling in with theſe SIGNS, as they denominate them, they ſteer to the ſouthward, without endeavouring to approach the coaſt, till they have run into a lower latitude; for, as there are many iſlands, and ſome ſhoals adjacent to California, the extreme caution of the Spaniſh navigators renders them very apprehenſive of being engaged with the land: however, when they draw near its ſouthern extremity, they venture to hale in, both for the ſake of making Cape St. Lucas, to aſcertain their reckoning, and alſo to receive intelligence from the Indian inhabitants whether or not there are any enemies on the coaſt; and this laſt circumſtance, which is a particular article in the captain's inſtructions, obliges us to mention in the late proceedings of the Jeſuits among the Californian Indians.

Since the diſcovery of California, there have been various wandering miſſionaries, who have viſited it at different times, though to little purpoſe: but of late years the Jeſuits, encouraged and ſupported by a large donation from the Marquis de Valero, a moſt munificent bigot, have fixed themſelves upon the place, and have there eſtabliſhed a very conſiderable miſſion. Their principal ſettlements lie juſt within Cape St. Lucas, where they have collected a great number of ſavages, and have endeavoured to inure them to agriculture, and other mechanic arts: nor have their efforts been altogether ineffectual; for they have planted vines at their ſettlements with very good ſucceſs, ſo that they already make a conſiderable quantity of wine, which begins to be eſteemed in the neighbouring kingdom of Mexico, it reſembling in flavour the inferior ſorts of Madeira.

The Jeſuits then being thus firmly rooted on California, they have already extended their juriſdiction quite acroſs the country from ſea to ſea, and are endeavouring to ſpread their influence farther to the northward; with which view, they have made ſeveral expeditions up the gulph between California and Mexico, in order to diſcover the nature of the adjacent countries, all which they hope hereafter to bring under their power. And being thus

occupied in advancing the intereſts of their ſociety, it is no wonder if ſome ſhare of attention is engaged about the ſecurity of the Manila ſhip, in which their convents at Manila are ſo deeply concerned. For this purpoſe there are refreſhments, as fruits, wine, water, &c. conſtantly kept in readineſs for her; and there is, beſides, care taken at Cape St. Lucas to look out for any ſhip of the enemy which might be cruiſing there to intercept her; this being a ſtation where ſhe is conſtantly expected, and where ſhe has been often waited for, and fought with, though generally with little ſucceſs. In conſequence then of the meaſures mutually ſettled between the Jeſuits of Manila and their brethren of California, the captain of the galeon is ordered to fall in with the land to the northward of Cape St. Lucas, where the inhabitants are directed, on the ſight of the veſſel, to make the proper ſignals with fires. On diſcovering theſe fires, the captain is to ſend his launch on ſhore with twenty men, well armed, who are to carry with them the letters from the convents at Manila to the Californian miſſionaries, and are to bring back the refreſhments which will be prepared for the ſhip, and likewiſe intelligence whether or not there are enemies on the coaſt. If the captain finds, from the account which is ſent him, that he has nothing to fear, he is directed to proceed from Cape St. Lucas, and thence to Cape Corientes, after which, he is to coaſt it along for the port of Acapulco.

The moſt uſual time of the arrival of the galeon at Acapulco is towards the middle of January: but this navigation is ſo uncertain, that ſhe ſometimes gets in a month ſooner, and, at other times, has been detained at ſea above a month longer. The port of Acapulco is by much the ſecureſt and fineſt in all the northern part of the Pacific ocean; being, as it were, a baſon ſurrounded by very high mountains. But the town is a moſt wretched place, and extremely unhealthy; for the air about it is ſo pent up by the hills, that it has ſcarcely any circulation. Acapulco is beſides deſtitute of freſh water, except what is brought from a conſiderable diſtance, and is in all reſpects ſo inconvenient, that except at the time of the mart, whilſt the Manila galeon is in the port, it is almoſt deſerted. To compenſate in ſome meaſure, for the ſhortneſs of this deſcription, I have inſerted, in the ſame plate with the bay of

Manila above mentioned, a plan of this town, and of its port and citadel, in which are likewiſe drawn the new works which were added on the firſt intelligence of the equipment of our ſquadron. As this plan was taken from the Spaniards, I cannot anſwer for its accuracy; but having ſeen two or three other Spaniſh draughts of the place, I conceive, by comparing them together, that this I have here inſerted is not very diſtant from the truth.

When the galeon arrives in this port, ſhe is generally moored on its weſtern ſide, to the two trees marked in the plan, and her cargo is delivered with all poſſible expedition. And now the town of Acapulco, from almoſt a ſolitude, is immediately thronged with merchants from all parts of the kingdom of Mexico. The cargo being landed and diſpoſed of, the ſilver and the goods intended for Manila, are taken on board, together with proviſions and water, and the ſhip prepares to put to ſea with the utmoſt expedition. There is indeed no time to be loſt; for it is an expreſs order to the captain to be out of the port of Acapulco on his return, before the firſt day of April, N. S.

Having mentioned the goods intended for Manila, I muſt obſerve, that the principal return is always made in ſilver, and conſequently the reſt of the cargo is but of little account; the other articles, beſides the ſilver, being ſome cochineal, and a few ſweet meats, the produce of the American ſettlements; together with European millinery ware for the women at Manila, and ſome Spaniſh wines, ſuch as tent and ſherry, which are intended for the uſe of their prieſts in the adminiſtration of the ſacrament.

And this difference in the cargo of the ſhip to and from Manila, occaſions a very remarkable variety in the manner of equipping her for theſe two different voyages. For the galeon, when ſhe ſets ſail for Manila, being deep laden with a variety of bulky goods, ſhe has not the conveniency of mounting her lower tire of guns, but carries them in her hold, till ſhe draws near Cape St. Lucas, and is apprehenſive of an enemy. Her hands too are as few as is conſiſtant with the ſafety of the ſhip, that ſhe may be leſs peſtered by the ſtowage of proviſions. But on her return

from Acapulco, as her cargo lies in leſs room, her lower tire is, or ought to be, always mounted before ſhe leaves the port, and her crew is augmented with a ſupply of ſailors, and with one or two companies of foot, which are intended to reinforce the garriſon of Manila. Beſides, there being many merchants who take their paſſage to Manila, on board the galeon, her whole number of hands on her return, is uſually little ſhort of ſix hundred, all which are eaſily provided for, by reaſon of the ſmall ſtowage neceſſary for the ſilver.

The galeon being thus fitted in order to her return, the captain, on leaving the port of Acapulco, ſteers for the latitude of 13° or 14°, and then continues on that parallel till he gets ſight of the iſland of Guam, one of the Ladrones. In this run the captain is particularly directed to be careful of the ſhoals of St. Bartholomew, and of the iſland of Gaſparico. He is alſo told in his inſtructions, that to prevent his paſſing the Ladrones in the dark, there are orders given, that through all the month of June fires ſhall be lighted every night on the higheſt part of Guam and Rota, and kept in till the morning.

At Guam there is a ſmall Spaniſh garriſon (as will be more particularly mentioned hereafter) purpoſely intended to ſecure that place for the refreſhments of the galeon, and to yield her all the aſſiſtance in their power. However, the danger of the road at Guam is ſo great, that though the galeon is ordered to call there, yet ſhe rarely ſtays above a day or two; but getting her water and refreſhments on board as ſoon as poſſible, ſhe ſteers away directly for Cape Eſpiritu Santo, on the iſland of Samal. Here the captain is again ordered to look out for ſignals; and he is told that centinels will be poſted not only on that Cape, but likewiſe on Catanduanas, Butuſan, Birriborongo, and on the iſland of Batan. Theſe centinels are inſtructed to make a fire when they diſcover the ſhip, which the captain is carefully to obſerve; for if, after this firſt fire is extinguiſhed, he perceives that four or more are lighted up again, he is then to conclude that there are enemies on the coaſt: and on this he is immediately to endeavour to ſpeak with the centinel on ſhore, and to procure from him more particular intelligence of their force,

and of the ſtation they cruiſe in; purſuant to which he is to regulate his conduct, and to endeavour to gain ſome ſecure port amongſt thoſe iſlands, without coming in ſight of the enemy; and in caſe he ſhould be diſcovered when in port, and ſhould be apprehenſive of an attack, he muſt land his treaſure, and muſt take ſome of his artillery on ſhore for its defence, not neglecting to ſend frequent and particular accounts to the city of Manila of all that paſſes. But if, after the firſt fire on ſhore, the captain obſerves that two others only are made by the centinels, he is then to conclude there is nothing to fear; and he is to purſue his courſe without interruption, making the beſt of his way to the port of Cabite, which is the port to the city of Manila, and the conſtant ſtation for all ſhips employed in this commerce to Acapulco.

## CHAP. XI.

### *Our Cruiſe off the Port of* ACAPULCO *for the* MANILA *ſhip.*

I HAVE already mentioned in the ninth chapter, that the return of our barge from the port of Acapulco, where ſhe had ſurpriſed three negro fiſhermen, gave us inexpreſſible ſatisfaction, as we learned from our priſoners, that the galeon was then preparing to put to ſea, and that her departure was fixed, by an edict of the viceroy of Mexico, to the 14th of March N. S. that is, to the 3d of March according to our reckoning.

What related to this Manila ſhip being the matter to which we were moſt attentive, it was neceſſarily the firſt article of our examination; but having ſatisfied ourſelves upon this head, we then indulged our curioſity in inquiring after other news: when the priſoners informed us, that they had received intelligence at Acapulco of our having plundered and burned the town of Paita; and that, on this occaſion, the governor of Acapulco had augmented the fortifications of the place, and had taken ſeveral precautions to prevent us from forcing our way into the harbour; that in particular, he had planted a guard on the iſland which lies at the harbour's mouth, and that this

guard had been withdrawn but two nights before the arrival of our barge; ſo that had the barge ſucceeded in her firſt attempt, or had ſhe arrived at the port the ſecond time, two days ſooner, ſhe could ſcarcely have avoided being ſeized on; or if ſhe had eſcaped, it muſt have been with the loſs of the greateſt part of her crew, as ſhe would have been under the fire of the guard before ſhe had known her danger.

The withdrawing of this guard was a circumſtance that gave us much pleaſure, ſince it ſeemed to demonſtrate, not only that the enemy had not as yet diſcovered us, but likewiſe, that they had now no farther apprehenſions of our viſiting their coaſt. Indeed, the priſoners aſſured us, that they had no knowledge of our being in thoſe ſeas, and that they had therefore flattered themſelves, that in the long interval from our taking of Paita we had ſteered another courſe. But we did not conſider the opinion of theſe negro priſoners as ſo authentic a proof of our being hitherto concealed, as the withdrawing of the guard from the harbour's mouth; for this being the action of the governor, was of all arguments the moſt convincing, as he might be ſuppoſed to have intelligence with which the reſt of the inhabitants were unacquainted.

Satisfied therefore that we were undiſcovered, and that the day was fixed for the departure of the galeon from Acapulco, we made all neceſſary preparations, and waited with the utmoſt impatience for the important moment. As it was the 19th of February when the barge returned and brought us our intelligence, and the galeon was not to ſail till the 3d of March, the Commodore reſolved to continue the greateſt part of the intermediate time on his preſent ſtation to the weſtward of Acapulco, conceiving that, in this ſituation, there would be leſs danger of his being ſeen from the ſhore, which was the only circumſtance that could deprive us of the immenſe treaſure on which we had at preſent ſo eagerly fixed our thoughts. During this interval, we were employed in ſcrubbing and cleanſing our ſhips bottoms, in bringing them into their moſt advantageous trim, and in regulating the orders, ſignals, and poſitions to be obſerved when we ſhould ar-

rive off Acapulco, and the time appointed for the departure of the galeon ſhould draw nigh.

It was on the 1ſt of March we made the high lands, uſually called the Paps over Acapulco, and got with all poſſible expedition into the ſituation preſcribed by the Commodore's orders. The diſtribution of our ſquadron on this occaſion, both for the intercepting the galeon, and for avoiding a diſcovery from the ſhore, was ſo very judicious, that it well merits to be diſtinctly deſcribed. The order of it was thus: the Centurion brought the Paps over the harbour to bear N. N. E. at fifteen leagues diſtance, which was a ſufficient offing to prevent our being ſeen by the enemy. To the weſtward of the Centurion there was ſtationed the Carmelo, and to the eaſtward the Tryal's prize, the Glouceſter and the Carmin; theſe were all ranged in a circular line, and each ſhip was three leagues diſtant from the next, ſo that the Carmelo and the Carmin, which were the two extremes, were twelve leagues removed from each other; and as the galeon could without doubt be diſcerned at ſix leagues diſtance from either extremity, the whole ſweep of our ſquadron, within which nothing could paſs undiſcovered, was at leaſt twenty-four leagues in extent; and yet we were ſo connected by our ſignals, as to be eaſily and ſpeedily informed of what was ſeen in any part of the line. To render this diſpoſition ſtill more complete, and to prevent even the poſſibility of the galeon's eſcaping us in the night, the two cutters belonging to the Centurion and Glouceſter, were both manned and ſent on ſhore, and commanded to lie all day at the diſtance of four or five leagues from the entrance of the port, where, by reaſon of their ſmallneſs, they could not poſſibly be diſcovered; but in the night they were directed to ſtand nearer to the harbour's mouth, and, as the light of the morning approached, to come back again to their day poſts. When the cutters ſhould firſt diſcern the Manila ſhip, one of them was to return to the ſquadron, and make a ſignal, whether the galeon ſtood to the eaſtward or to the weſtward, whilſt the other was to follow the galeon at a diſtance, and if it grew dark, to direct the ſquadron in their chace, by ſhewing falſe fires. The particular ſituation of each ſhip, and of the cutters, and the bearings from each other, which they were to obſerve, in order to keep their

ſtations, will be better underſtood by the delineation exhibited in the XXVII. plate; a draught of which was delivered to each of the commanders at the ſame time with their orders.

Beſides the care we had taken to prevent the galeon from paſſing by us unobſerved, we had not been inattentive to the means of engaging her to advantage when we came up with her; for conſidering the thinneſs of our crews, and the vaunting account given by the Spaniards of her ſize, her guns, and her ſtrength, this was a conſideration not to be neglected. As we ſuppoſed that none of our ſhips but the Centurion and Glouceſter were capable of lying along ſide of her, we took on board the Centurion all the hands belonging to the Carmelo and Carmin, except what were juſt ſufficient to navigate thoſe ſhips; and Captain Saunders was ordered to ſend from the Tryal's prize ten Engliſhmen, and as many negroes, to reinforce the crew of the Glouceſter. At the ſame time, for the encouragement of our negroes, of which we had a conſiderable number on board, we promiſed them that, on their good behaviour, they ſhould have their freedom. As they had been almoſt every day trained to the management of the great guns for the two preceding months, they were very well qualified to be of ſervice to us; and from their hopes of liberty, and in return for the kind uſage they had met with amongſt us, they ſeemed diſpoſed to exert themſelves to the utmoſt of their power whenever we ſhould have occaſion for them.

Being thus prepared for the reception of the galeon, we expected, with the utmoſt impatience, the often-mentioned 3d of March, the day fixed for her departure. No ſooner did that day dawn, than we were, all of us, moſt eagerly engaged in looking out towards Acapulco, from whence neither the caſual duties on board, nor the calls of hunger, could eaſily divert our eyes; and we were ſo ſtrangely prepoſſeſſed with the certainty of our intelligence, and with an aſſurance of her coming out of port, that ſome or other amongſt us were conſtantly imagining, that they diſcovered one of the cutters returning with a ſignal. But to our extreme vexation, both this day and the ſucceeding night paſſed over without any news of the galeon:

however, we did not yet deſpair, but we were all heartily diſpoſed to flatter ourſelves, that ſome unforeſeen accident had intervened, which might have put off her departure for a few days; and ſuggeſtions of this kind occurred in plenty, as we knew that the time fixed by the viceroy for her ſailing, was often prolonged on the petition of the merchants of Mexico. Thus we kept up our hopes, and did not abate of our vigilance; and as the 7th of March was Sunday, the beginning of paſſion week, which is obſerved by the Papiſts with great ſtrickneſs, and a total ceſſation from all kinds of labour, ſo that no ſhip is permitted to ſtir out of port during the whole week, this quieted our apprehenſions for ſome time, and diſpoſed us not to expect the galeon till the week following. On the Friday in this week, our cutters returned to us, and the officers on board them were very confident that the galeon was ſtill in port, for that ſhe could not poſſibly have come out but that they muſt have ſeen her. The Monday morning following, that is, on the 15th of March, the cutters were again diſpatched to their old ſtation, and our hopes were once more indulged in as ſanguine prepoſſeſſions as before; but, in a week's time, our eagerneſs was greatly abated, and a general dejection and deſpondency took place in its room. It is true, there were ſome few amongſt us who ſtill kept up their ſpirits, and were very ingenious in finding out reaſons to ſatisfy themſelves, that the diſappointment we had hitherto met with, had only been occaſioned by a caſual delay of the galeon, which a few days would remove, and not by a total ſuſpenſion of her departure for the whole ſeaſon: but theſe ſpeculations were not adopted by the generality of our people; for they were perſuaded, that the enemy had, by ſome accident, diſcovered our being upon the coaſt, and had therefore laid an embargo on the galeon till the next year. And indeed this perſuaſion was but too well founded; for we afterwards learned, that our barge, when ſent on the diſcovery of the port of Acapulco, had been ſeen from the ſhore, and that this circumſtance (no embarkations but canoes ever frequenting that coaſt) was to them a ſufficient proof of the neighbourhood of our ſquadron; on which they ſtopped the galeon till the ſucceeding year.

The Commodore himſelf, though he declared not his

opinion, was yet, in his own thoughts, apprehenſive that we were diſcovered, and that the departure of the galeon was put off; and he had, in conſequence of this opinion, formed a plan for poſſeſſing himſelf of Acapulco; becauſe he had no doubt but the treaſure as yet remained in the town, even though the orders for diſpatching of the galeon were countermanded. Indeed, the place was too well defended to be carried by an open attempt; ſince, beſides the garriſon and the crew of the galeon, there were in it at leaſt a thouſand men well armed, who had marched thither as guards to the treaſure when it was brought down from the city of Mexico: for the roads thereabouts are ſo much infeſted, either by independent Indians or fugitives, that the Spaniards never truſt the ſilver without an armed force to protect it. Beſides, had the ſtrength of the place been leſs conſiderable, and ſuch as might not have appeared ſuperior to the efforts of our ſquadron, yet a declared attack would have prevented us receiving any advantages from its ſucceſs; for, upon the firſt diſcovery of our ſquadron, all the treaſure would have been ordered into the country, and in a few hours, would have been out of our reach; ſo that our conqueſt would have been only a deſolate town, where we ſhould have found nothing that could in the leaſt have countervailed the fatigue and hazard of the undertaking.

For theſe reaſons, the ſurpriſal of the place was the only method that could at all anſwer our purpoſe; and therefore the manner in which Mr. Anſon propoſed to conduct this enterpriſe was, by ſetting ſail with the ſquadron in the evening, time enough to arrive at the port in the night. As there is no danger on that coaſt, he would have ſtood boldly for the harbour's mouth, where he expected to arrive, and perhaps might have entered before the Spaniards were acquainted with his deſigns: as ſoon as he had run into the harbour, he intended to have puſhed two hundred of his men on ſhore in his boats, who were immediately to attempt the fort marked (C) in the plan mentioned in the preceding chapter, whilſt he (the Commodore) with his ſhips, was employed in firing upon the town and the other batteries. And theſe different operations, which would have been executed with great regularity, could hardly have failed of ſucceeding againſt an

enemy, who would have been prevented by the ſuddenneſs of the attack, and by the want of day-light, from concerting any meaſures for their defence: ſo that it was extremly probable that we ſhould have carried the fort by ſtorm; and then the other batteries, being open behind, muſt have been ſoon abandoned; after which the town and its inhabitants, and all the treaſure, muſt neceſſarily have fallen into our hands. For the place is ſo cooped up with mountains, that it is ſcarcely poſſible to eſcape out of it, but by the great road marked (H H) in the plan, which paſſes under the fort. This was the project which the Commodore had thus far ſettled generally in his thoughts; but when he began to inquire into ſuch circumſtances as were neceſſary to be conſidered, in order to regulate the particulars of its execution, he found there was a difficulty, which, being inſuperable, occaſioned the enterpriſe to be laid aſide: as, on examining the priſoners about the winds which prevail near the ſhore, he learned (and it was afterwards confirmed by the officers of our cutters) that nearer in ſhore, there was always a dead calm for the greateſt part of the night, and that towards morning, when a gale ſprung up, it conſtantly blew off the land: ſo that the ſetting ſail from our preſent ſtation in the evening, and arriving at Acapulco before day-light, was impoſſible.

This ſcheme, as hath been ſaid, was formed by the Commodore, upon a ſuppoſition that the galeon was detained till the next year: but as this was a matter of opinion only, and not founded on intelligence, and there was a poſſibility that ſhe might ſtill put to ſea in a ſhort time, the Commodore thought it prudent to continue cruiſing on his preſent ſtation, as long as the neceſſary attention to his ſtores of wood and water, and to the convenient ſeaſon for his future paſſage to China, would give him leave. And therefore, as the cutters had been ordered to remain before Acapulco till the 23d of March, the ſquadron did not change its poſition till that day; when the cutters not appearing, we were in ſome pain for them, apprehending they might have ſuffered either from the enemy or the weather; but we were relieved from our concern the next morning, when we diſcovered them, though at a great diſtance, and to the leeward of the ſquadron. We bore

down to them, and took them up, and were informed by them, that, conformable to their orders, they had left their ſtation the day before, without having ſeen any thing of the galeon, and we found, that the reaſon of their being ſo far to the leeward of us, was a ſtrong current, which had driven the whole ſquadron to windward.

And here it is neceſſary to mention, that, by information which was afterwards received, it appeared that this prolongation of our cruiſe was a very prudent meaſure, and afforded us no contemptible chance of ſeizing the treaſure on which we had ſo long fixed our thoughts. For after the embargo was laid on the galeon, as is before mentioned, the perſons principally intereſted in the cargo, diſpatched ſeveral expreſſes to Mexico, to beg that ſhe might ſtill be permitted to depart. It ſeems they knew, by the accounts ſent from Paita, that we had not more than three hundred men in all; whence they inſiſted that there was nothing to be feared, as the galeon, carrying above twice as many hands as our whole ſquadron, would be greatly an overmatch for us. And though the viceroy was inflexible, yet, on the account of their repreſentation, ſhe was kept ready for the ſea for near three weeks after the firſt order came to detain her.

When he had taken up the cutters, all the ſhips being joined, the Commodore made a ſignal to ſpeak with their commanders; and upon inquiry into the ſtock of freſh water remaining on board the ſquadron, it was found to be ſo very ſlender, that we were under a neceſſity of quitting our ſtation to procure a freſh ſupply. Conſulting what place was the propereſt for this purpoſe, it was agreed that the harbour of Seguataneio or Chequetan, being the neareſt, was, on that account, the moſt eligible; ſo that it was immediately reſolved to make the beſt of our way thither; but that, even while we were recruiting our water, we might not totally abandon our views upon the galeon, which perhaps from certain intelligence of our being employed at Chequetan, might venture to ſlip out to ſea, our cutter, under the command of Mr. Hughs, the lieutenant of the Tryal's prize, was ordered to cruiſe off the port of Acapulco for twenty four days: that, if the galeon ſhould ſet ſail in that interval, we might be ſpeedi-

ly informed of it. In purſuance of theſe reſolutions, we endeavoured to ply to the weſtward, to gain our intended port; but were often interrupted in our progreſs by calms and adverſe currents. At theſe intervals we employed ourſelves in taking out the moſt valuable part of the cargoes of the Carmelo and Carmin prizes, which two ſhips we intended to deſtroy as ſoon as we had tolerably cleared them. By the 1ſt of April, we were ſo far advanced towards Seguataneio, that we thought it expedient to ſend out two boats that they might range along the coaſt to diſcover the watering place; they were gone ſome days, and our water being now very ſhort, it was a particular felicity to us that we met with daily ſupplies of turtle; for had we been entirely confined to ſalt proviſions, we muſt have ſuffered extremely in ſo warm a climate. Indeed our preſent circumſtances were ſufficiently alarming, and gave the moſt conſiderate amongſt us, as much concern as any of the numerous perils we had hitherto encountered: for our boats, as we conceived by their not returning, had not as yet found a place proper to water at; and by the leakage of our caſks, and other accidents, we had not ten days water on board the whole ſquadron; ſo that from the known difficulty of procuring water on this coaſt, and the little reliance we had on the Buccaneer writers (the only guides we had to truſt to) we were apprehenſive of being ſoon expoſed to a calamity the moſt terrible of any that occurs in the long diſheartening catalogue of the diſtreſſes of a ſea faring life.

But theſe gloomy ſuggeſtions were at length happily ended; for our boats returned on the 5th of April, having, about ſeven miles to the weſtward of the rocks of Seguataneio, met with a place fit for our purpoſe; and which, by the deſcription they gave of it, appeared to be the port of Chequetan, mentioned by Dampier. The ſucceſs of our boats was highly agreeable to us, and they were ordered out again next day, to ſound the harbour and its entrance, which they had repreſented as very narrow. At their return they reported the place to be free from any danger; ſo that on the 7th we ſtood for it, and that evening came to an anchor in eleven fathom. The Glouceſter caſt anchor at the ſame time with us; but the Carmelo and the Carmin, having fallen to the leeward, the Try-

al's prize was ordered to join them, and to bring them up, which in two or three days ſhe effected.

Thus, after a four months continuance at ſea, from the leaving of Quibo, and having but ſix days water on board, we arrived in the harbour of Chequetan; the deſcription of which, and of the adjacent coaſt, ſhall be the buſineſs of the enſuing chapter.

## CHAP. XII.

*Deſcription of the Harbour of* CHEQUETAN, *and of the adjacent Coaſt and Country.*

THE harbour of Chequetan, which we here propoſe to deſcribe, lies in the latitude of 17° : 36′ north, and is about thirty leagues to the weſtward of Acapulco. It is eaſy to be diſcovered by any ſhip that will keep well in with the land, eſpecially by ſuch as range down the coaſt from Acapulco, and will attend to the following particulars.

There is a beach of ſand, which extends eighteen leagues from the harbour of Acapulco to the weſtward, againſt which the ſea breaks ſo violently, that, with our boats, it would be impoſſible to land on any part of it: but yet the ground is ſo clean, that, during the fair ſeaſon, ſhips may anchor in great ſafety at the diſtance of a mile or two from the ſhore. The land adjacent to this beach is generally low, full of villages, and planted with a great number of trees, and on the tops of ſome ſmall eminences there are ſeveral look out towers; ſo that the face of the country affords a very agreeable proſpect: for the cultivated part, which is the part here deſcribed, extends ſome leagues back from the ſhore, where it ſeems to be bounded by a chain of mountains, which ſtretch to a conſiderable diſtance on either ſide of Acapulco. It is a moſt remarkable particularity, that, in this whole extent, containing, in appearance, the moſt populous and beſt planted diſtrict of the whole coaſt, there ſhould be neither canoes, boats, nor any other embarkations, either for fiſhing, coaſting, or for pleaſure. This cannot be imputed to the difficulty of landing; becauſe in many parts of Africa and Aſia,

where the ſame inconvenience occurs, the inhabitants have provided againſt it by veſſels of a peculiar fabric. I therefore conceive, that the government, to prevent ſmuggling, have prohibited the uſe of all kinds of ſmall craft in that diſtrict.

The beach here deſcribed is the ſureſt guide to thoſe who are deſirous of finding the harbour of Chequetan: for five miles to the weſtward of the extremity of this beach there appears a hummock, which at firſt makes like an iſland, and is in ſhape not very unlike the hill of Petaplan, hereafter mentioned, though much ſmaller. Three miles to the weſtward of this hummock, is a white rock, near the ſhore, which cannot eaſily be paſſed by unobſerved: it is about two cables length from the land, and lies in a large bay about nine leagues over. The weſt point of this bay is the hill of Petaplan, which is repreſented in the XXVIII. plate, with the view of the iſlands of Quicara and Quibo. This hill of Petaplan, like the forementioned hummock, may be at firſt miſtaken for an iſland, though it be, in reality, a peninſula, which is joined to the continent by a low and narrow iſthmus, covered over with ſhrubs and ſmall trees. The bay of Seguataneio extends from this hill a great way to the weſtward: and it appears by a plan of the bay of Petaplan, which is a part of that of Seguataneio, and is to be ſeen in the XXIX. plate, that at a ſmall diſtance from the hill, and oppoſite to the entrance of the bay, there is an aſſemblage of rocks, which are white, from the excrements of boobies and tropical birds. Four of theſe rocks are high and large, and, together with ſeveral ſmaller ones, are, by the help of a little imagination, pretended to reſemble the form of a croſs, and are called the White Friars. Theſe rocks, as appears by the plan, bear W. by N. from Petaplan; and about ſeven miles to the weſtward of them lies the harbour of Chequetan, which is ſtill more minutely diſtinguiſhed by a large and ſingle rock, that riſes out of the water, a mile and a half diſtant from the entrance, and bears S. $\frac{1}{2}$ W. from the middle of it. The appearance of this entrance is very accurately repreſented in the XXX. plate, where (*e*) is the eaſt point of the harbour, and (*d*) the weſt, the forementioned rock being marked (*f*). In the ſame view (*a*) is a large ſandy bay, but where there is no land-

ing; (*b*) are four remarkable white rocks; and from the point (*c*) there runs another bay to the weſtward. To theſe directions I muſt add, that the coaſt is no ways to be dreaded between the middle of October and the beginning of May, nor is there any danger from the winds; tho' in the remaining part of the year, there are frequent and violent tornadoes, heavy rains, and hard gales in all directions of the compaſs.

Such are the infallible marks by which the harbour of Chequetan may be known to thoſe who keep well in with the land. But as to thoſe who keep at any conſiderable diſtance from the coaſt, there is no other method to be taken for finding the place, than that of making it by the latitude; for there are ſo many ranges of mountains riſing one upon the back of another within land, that no drawings of the appearance of the coaſt can be at all depended on when off at ſea; every little change of diſtance or variation of poſition bringing new mountains in view, and producing an infinity of different proſpects, which render all attempts of delineating the aſpect of the coaſt impoſſible

Having diſcuſſed the methods of diſcovering the harbour of Chequetan, it is time to inſert the plan of the harbour itſelf; this is repreſented in the XXXI. plate, where it may be ſeen, that its entrance is but about half a mile broad; the two points which form it, and which are faced with rocks that are almoſt perpendicular, bear from each other S. E. and N. W. The harbour is environed on all ſides, except to the weſtward, with high mountains overſpread with trees. The paſſage into it is very ſafe on either ſide of the rock that lies off the mouth of it; though we both in coming in and going out left it to the eaſtward. The ground without the harbour is gravel mixed with ſtones, but within it is a ſoft mud: and it muſt be remembered, that in coming to an anchor, a good allowance ſhould be made for a large ſwell, which frequently cauſes a great ſend of the ſea; as likewiſe, for the ebbing and flowing of the tide, which we obſerved to be about five feet, and that it ſet nearly E. and W.

The watering place is ſituated in that part of the har-

bour where freſh water is marked on the plan. This during the whole time of our ſtay, had the appearance of a large ſtanding lake, without any viſible outlet into the ſea, from which it ſeparated by a part of the ſtrand. The origin of this lake is a ſpring that bubbles out of the ground near half a mile within the country. We found the water a little brackiſh, but more conſiderably ſo towards the ſea-ſide; for the nearer we advanced towards the ſpring head, the ſofter and freſher it proved. This laid us under a neceſſity of filling all our caſks from the furtheſt part of the lake, and occaſioned us ſome trouble; and would have proved ſtill more difficult, had it not been for our particular management, which on account of the conveniency of it, deſerves to be recommended to all who ſhall hereafter water at this place. Our method conſiſted of making uſe of canoes, which drew but little water; for loading them with a number of ſmall caſks, they eaſily got up the lake to the ſpring head; and the ſmall caſks being there filled, were in the ſame manner tranſported back again to the beach, where ſome of our hands always attended, to ſtart them into other caſks of a larger ſize.

Though this lake, during our continuance there, appeared to have no outlet into the ſea, yet there is reaſon to ſuppoſe, that in the rainy ſeaſon it overflows the ſtrand, and communicates with the ocean; for Dampier, who was formerly here, ſpeaks of it as a large river. Indeed it is neceſſary that a vaſt body of water ſhould be amaſſed before the lake can riſe high enough to overflow the ſtrand, ſince the neighbouring lands are ſo low, that great part of them muſt be covered with water before it can run out over the beach.

As the country hereabouts, particularly the track of coaſt contiguous to Acapulco, appeared to be well peopled and cultivated, we hoped to have eaſily procured from thence ſome freſh proviſions and other refreſhments, which we now ſtood greatly in need of. To facilitate theſe views, the Commodore, the morning after we came to an anchor, ordered a party of forty men, well armed, to march into the country, and to endeavour to diſcover ſome town or village, where they were to attempt to ſet on foot a correſpondence with the inhabitants; for when he had once

begun this intercourſe, we doubted not but that, by proper preſents, we ſhould allure them to bring down to us whatever fruits or freſh proviſions were in their power; as our prizes abounded in various kinds of coarſe merchandiſe, which were of little conſequence to us, though to them they would be extremely valuable. Our people were directed, on this occaſion, to proceed with the greateſt circumſpection, and to make as little oſtentation of hoſtility as poſſible; for we were ſenſible we could find no wealth in theſe parts worth our notice; and what neceſſaries we really wanted, we expected would be better and more abundantly ſupplied by an open amicable traffic, than by violence and force of arms. But this endeavour of opening a commerce with the inhabitants proved ineffectual; for towards evening the party which had been ordered to march into the country, returned greatly fatigued by their unuſual exerciſe, and ſome of them ſo far ſpent that they had fainted on the road, and were obliged to be brought back upon the ſhoulders of their companions. They had penetrated, as they conceived, about ten miles into the country, along a beaten track, where they often ſaw the freſh dung of horſes or mules. When they had got near five miles from the harbour, the road divided between the mountains into two branches, one running to the eaſt, and the other to the weſt. On deliberation concerning the courſe they ſhould take, it was agreed to continue their march along the eaſtern road: this, when they had followed it for ſome time, led them at once into a large plain or ſavannah; on one ſide of which they diſcovered a centinel on horſeback with a piſtol in his hand. It was ſuppoſed that, when they firſt ſaw him, he was aſleep; but his horſe ſtartled at the glittering of the arms, and, turning round ſuddenly, ran off with his maſter, who, though he was very near being unhorſed in the ſurpriſe, yet recovered his ſeat, and eſcaped with the loſs only of his hat and his piſtol, which he dropped on the ground. Our people purſued him in hopes of diſcovering the village or habitation which he would retreat to; but as he had the advantage of being on horſeback, they ſoon loſt ſight of him. Notwithſtanding his eſcape, they were unwilling to come back without making ſome diſcovery, and therefore ſtill followed the track they were in, till the heat of the day increaſing, and finding no water to quench their

thirſt, they were firſt obliged to halt, and then reſolved to return; for as they ſaw no ſigns of plantations or cultivated land, they had no reaſon to believe that there was any village or ſettlement near them. However, to leave no means untried of procuring ſome intercourſe with the people, the officers ſtuck up ſeveral poles in the roads, to which were affixed declarations, written in Spaniſh, encouraging the inhabitants to come down to the harbour to traffic with us, giving them the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of a kind reception, and faithful payment for any proviſions they ſhould bring us. This was doubtleſs a very prudent meaſure, yet it produced no effect; for we never ſaw any of them during the whole time of our continuance at this port of Chequetan. Indeed it were to have been wiſhed that our men, upon the diviſion of the path, had taken the weſtern road inſtead of the eaſtern, for then they would ſoon have been led to a village or town, which ſome Spaniſh manuſcripts mention as being in the neighbourhood of this port, and which, we afterwards learned, was not above two miles from that turning.

And, on this occaſion, I cannot avoid mentioning another adventure, which happened to ſome of our people in the bay of Petaplan, as it may greatly aſſiſt the reader in forming a juſt idea of the temper and reſolution of the inhabitants of this part of the world. Some time after our arrival at Chequetan, Lieutenant Brett was ſent by the Commodore, with two of our boats under his command, to examine the coaſt to the eaſtward, particularly to make obſervations on the bay and watering place of Petaplan, a plan of which has been already referred to in this chapter. As Mr. Brett with one of his boats was preparing to go on ſhore towards the hill of Petaplan, he, accidentally looking acroſs the bay, perceived, on the oppoſite ſtrand, three ſmall ſquadrons of horſe parading upon the beach, and ſeemed to advance towards the place where he propoſed to land. On ſight of this he immediately put off the boat, though he had but ſixteen men with him, and ſtood over the bay towards them; and he ſoon came near enough to perceive that they were mounted on very ſightly horſes, and were armed with carbines and lances. On ſeeing him make towards them, they formed upon the beach, and ſeemed re-

ſolved to diſpute his landing, firing ſeveral diſtant ſhot at him as he drew near; till, at laſt, the boat being arrived within a reaſonable diſtance of the moſt advanced ſquadron, Mr. Brett ordered his people to fire, upon which this reſolute cavalry inſtantly ran with great confuſion into the wood, through a ſmall opening which is delineated on the plan. In this precipitate flight one of their horſes fell down and threw his rider; but, whether he was wounded or not, we could not diſcern, for both man and horſe ſoon got up again, and followed the reſt into the wood. In the mean time, the other two ſquadrons were calm ſpectators of the route of their comrades; for they were drawn up at a great diſtance behind, out of the reach of our ſhot, having halted on our firſt approach, and never advancing a ſtep afterwards. It was doubtleſs fortunate for our people, that the enemy acted with ſo little prudence, and exerted ſo little ſpirit; ſince, had they concealed themſelves till our men had landed, it is ſcarcely poſſible but all the boat's crew muſt have fallen into their hands; as the Spaniards were not much ſhort of two hundred, and the whole number with Mr. Brett only amounted to ſixteen However, the diſcovery of ſo conſiderable a force, collected in this bay of Petaplan, obliged us conſtantly to keep a boat or two before it: for we were apprehenſive that the cutter, which we had left to cruiſe off Acapulco, might, on her return, be ſurpriſed by the enemy, if ſhe did not receive timely information of her danger. But now to proceed with the account of the harbour of Chequetan:

After our unſucceſsful attempt to engage the people of the country to furniſh us with the neceſſaries we wanted, we deſiſted from any more endeavours of the ſame nature, and were obliged to be content with what we could procure for ourſelves in the neighbourhood of the port. We caught fiſh here in tolerable quantities, eſpecially when the ſmoothneſs of the water permitted us to hale the ſeyne. Amongſt the reſt, we got cavallies, breams, mullets, ſoles, fiddle fiſh, ſea eggs, and lobſters: and we here, and in no other place, met with that extraordinary fiſh called the Torpedo, or numbing fiſh, which is, in ſhape, very like the fiddle fiſh, and is not to be known from it but by a brown circular ſpot about the bigneſs of a crown

piece, near the center of its back. Perhaps its figure will be better underſtood, when I ſay it is a flat fiſh, much reſembling the thorn back. This fiſh, the Torpedo, is indeed of a moſt ſingular nature, productive of the ſtrangeſt effects on the human body: for whoever handles it, or happens even to ſet his foot upon it, is preſently ſeized with a numbneſs all over him; but which is more diſtinguiſhable in that limb which was in immediate contact with it. The ſame effect too will be, in ſome degree, produced by touching the fiſh with any thing held in the hand, ſince I myſelf had a conſiderable degree of numbneſs conveyed to my right arm, through a walking cane which I reſted on the body of the fiſh for a ſhort time only: and I make no doubt but I ſhould have been much more ſenſibly affected, had not the fiſh been near expiring when I made the experiment; as it is obſervable, that this influence acts with moſt vigour upon the fiſh being firſt taken out of the water, and entirely ceaſes as ſoon as it is dead, ſo that it may be then handled, or even eaten, without any inconvenience. I ſhall only add, that the numbneſs of my arm upon this occaſion, did not go off on a ſudden, as the accounts of ſome naturaliſts gave me reaſon to expect, but diminiſhed gradually, ſo that I had ſome ſenſation of it remaining till the next day.

To the account given of the fiſh we met with here, I muſt add, that though the turtle now grew ſcarce, and we found none in this harbour of Chequetan, yet our boats, which were ſtationed off Petaplan, often ſupplied us therewith; and though this was a food that we had been long, as it were, confined to, (ſince it was the only freſh proviſions which we had taſted during near ſix months) yet we were far from being cloyed with it, or from finding that the reliſh we had for it at all diminiſhed.

The animals we met with on ſhore were principally guanos, with which the country abounds, and which are by ſome reckoned delicious food. We ſaw no beaſts of prey here, except we ſhould eſteem that amphibious animal, the aligator, as ſuch, ſeveral of which our people diſcovered, but none of them very large. However, we were ſatisfied that there were great numbers of tygers in the woods, though none of them came in ſight; for we every morn-

ing found the beach, near the watering place, imprinted very thick with their footſteps; but we never apprehended any miſchief from them, ſince they are by no means ſo fierce as the Aſiatic or African tyger, and are rarely, if ever, known to attack mankind. Birds were here in ſufficient plenty; for we had abundance of pheaſants of different kinds, ſome of them of an uncommon ſize, but they were all very dry and taſteleſs eating. And beſides theſe we had a variety of ſmaller birds, particularly parrots, which we often killed for food.

The fruits and vegetable refreſhments at this place were neither plentiful nor of the beſt kinds. There were, it is true, a few buſhes ſcattered about the woods, which ſupplied us with limes, but we ſcarcely could procure enough for our preſent uſe; and theſe, with a ſmall plumb, of an agreeable acid, called in Jamaica the hog plumb, together with another fruit called a Papah, were the only fruits to be found in the woods. Nor is there any other uſeful vegetable here, worth mentioning, except brook-lime: this indeed grew in great quantities near the freſh water banks; and, as it was eſteemed an antiſcorbutic, we fed upon it frequently, though its extreme bitterneſs made it very unpalatable.

Theſe are the articles moſt worthy of notice in this harbour of Chequetan. I ſhall only mention a particular of the coaſt lying to the weſtward of it, that to the eaſtward having been already deſcribed. As Mr. Anſon was always attentive to whatever might be of conſequence to thoſe who might frequent theſe ſeas hereafter, and as we had obſerved that there was a double land to the weſtward of Chequetan, which ſtretched out to a conſiderable diſtance, with a kind of opening, that appeared not unlike the inlet to ſome harbour, the Commodore, ſoon after we came to an anchor, ſent a boat to diſcover it more accurately; and it was found on a nearer examination, that the two hills, which formed the double land, were joined together by a valley, and that there was no harbour no ſhelter between them.

By all that hath been ſaid it will appear, that the conveniences of this port of Chequetan, particularly in the

articles of refreſhment, are not altogether ſuch as might be deſired; but yet, upon the whole, it muſt be owned, to be a place of conſiderable conſequence, and that the knowledge of it may be of great import to future cruiſers. For except Acapulco, which is in the hands of the enemy, it is the only ſecure harbour in a vaſt extent of coaſt. It lies at a proper diſtance from Acapulco for the convenience of ſuch ſhips as may have any deſigns on the Manila galeon; and it is a place where wood and water may be procured with great ſecurity, in deſpite of the efforts of the inhabitants of the adjacent diſtrict: for there is but one narrow path which leads through the woods into the country, and this is eaſily to be ſecured by a very ſmall party againſt all the ſtrength the Spaniards in that neighbourhood can muſter. After this account of Chequetan, and the coaſt contiguous to it, we now return to the recital of our own proceedings.

## CHAP. XIII.

*Our Proceedings at* CHEQUETAN, *and on the adjacent Coaſt, till our ſetting ſail for* ASIA.

THE next morning, after our coming to an anchor in the harbour of Chequetan, we ſent about ninety of our men, well armed, on ſhore; forty of whom were ordered to march into the country, as hath been mentioned, and the remaining fifty were employed to cover the watering place, and to prevent any interruption from the natives

Here we completed the unloading of the Carmelo, and Carmin, which we had begun at ſea; that is to ſay, we took out of them the indigo, cocoa, and cochineal, with ſome iron for ballaſt, which were all the goods we intended to preſerve, though they did not amount to a tenth of their cargoes. Here too it was agreed, after a mature conſultation, to deſtroy the Tryal's prize, as well as the Carmelo and Carmin, whoſe fate had been before reſolved on. Indeed the Tryal's prize was in good repair, and fit for the ſea; but as the whole numbers on board our ſquadron did not amount to the complement of a fourth

rate man of war, we found it was impoſſible to divide them into three ſhips, without rendering each of thoſe ſhips incapable of navigating in ſafety, through the tempeſtuous weather we had reaſon to expect on the coaſt of China, where we ſuppoſed we ſhould arrive about the time of the change of the monſoons. Theſe conſiderations determined the Commodore to deſtroy the Tryal's prize, and to reinforce the Glouceſter with the beſt part of her crew. And, in conſequence of this reſolve, all the ſtores on board the Tryal's prize were removed into the other ſhips, and the prize herſelf, with the Carmelo and Carmin, were prepared for ſcuttling with all the expedition we were maſters of; but the great difficulties we were under, in providing a ſtore of water (which have been already touched on) together with the neceſſary repairs of our rigging, and other unavoidable occupations, took us up ſo much time, and found us ſuch unexpected employment, that it was near the end of April before we were in a condition to leave the place.

During our ſtay here there happened an incident, which, as it proved the means of convincing our friends in England of our ſafety, which, for ſome time, they had deſpaired of, and were then in doubt about, I ſhall beg leave particularly to recite. I have obſerved, in the preceding chapter, that from this harbour of Chequetan, there was but one path way which led through the woods into the country; this we found much beaten, and were thence convinced, that it was well known to the inhabitants. As it paſſed by the ſpring head, and was the only avenue by which the Spaniards could approach us, we, at ſome diſtance beyond the ſpring head, felled ſeveral large trees, and laid them one upon the other acroſs the path; and at this barricadoe we conſtantly kept a guard. We beſides ordered our men, employed in watering, to have their arms ready, and, in caſe of any alarm, to march inſtantly to this poſt: and though our principal intention herein was to prevent our being diſturbed by any ſudden attack of the enemy's horſe, yet it anſwered another purpoſe, which was not in itſelf leſs important; this was, to hinder our own people from ſtraggling ſingly into the country, where we had reaſon to believe they would be ſurpriſed by the Spaniards, who would doubtleſs be extreme-

ly ſolicitous to pick up ſome of them, in hopes of getting intelligence of our future deſigns. To avoid this inconvenience, the ſtricteſt orders were given to the centinels, to let no perſon whatever paſs beyond their poſt; but, notwithſtanding this precaution, we miſſed one Lewis Leger, who was the Commodore's cook: as he was a Frenchman, and was ſuſpected to be a papiſt, it was at firſt imagined that he had deſerted, with a view of betraying all that he knew to the enemy, though this appeared, by the event, to be an ill grounded ſurmiſe: for it was afterwards known, that he had been taken by ſome Indians, who carried him priſoner to Acapulco, from whence he was transferred to Mexico, and then to Vera Cruz, where he was ſhipped on board a veſſel bound to Old Spain; but the veſſel being obliged by ſome accident to put into Liſbon, Leger eſcaped on ſhore, and was by the Britiſh conſul ſent from thence to England, where he brought the firſt authentic account of the ſafety of the Commodore, and of his principal tranſactions in the South Seas. The relation he gave of his own ſeizure was, that he rambled into the woods at ſome diſtance from the barricadoe, where he had firſt attempted to paſs, but had been ſtopped, and threatened to be puniſhed; that his principal view was to get a quantity of limes for his maſter's ſtore; and that, in this occupation, he was ſurpriſed unawares by four Indians, who ſtripped him naked, and carried him in that condition to Acapulco, expoſed to the ſcorching heat of the ſun, which, at that time of the year, ſhone with its greateſt violence; that afterwards, at Mexico, his treatment in priſon was ſufficiently ſevere; ſo that the whole courſe of his captivity was a continued inſtance of the hatred which the Spaniards bear to all thoſe who endeavour to diſturb them in the peaceable poſſeſſion of the coaſts of the South Seas. Indeed Leger's fortune was upon the whole extremely ſingular; as, after the hazards he had run in the Commodore's ſquadron, and the ſeverities he had ſuffered in his long confinement amongſt the enemy, a more fatal diſaſter attended him on his return to England; for though, when he arrived in London, ſome of Mr. Anſon's friends intereſted themſelves in relieving him from the poverty to which his captivity had reduced him, yet he did not long enjoy the benefit of their humanity, ſince he was killed in an inſignifi-

cant night brawl, the cauſe of which could ſcarcely be diſcovered.

And on occaſion of this ſurpriſal of Leger, I muſt obſerve, that though the enemy never appeared in ſight, during our ſtay in the harbour, yet we perceived that large parties of them were incamped in the woods about us; for we could ſee their ſmokes, and could thence determine that they were poſted in a circular line, ſurrounding us at a diſtance; and juſt before our coming away, they ſeemed by the increaſe of their fires, to have received a conſiderable reinforcement. But to return;

Towards the latter end of April, the unloading of our three prizes, our wooding and watering, and in ſhort every one of our propoſed employments at the harbour of Chequetan were completed; ſo that, on the 27th of April, the Tryal's prize, the Carmelo, and the Carmin, all which we here intended to deſtroy, were towed on ſhore and ſcuttled, a quantity of combuſtible materials having been diſtributed in their upper works; and the next morning the Centurion, with the Glouceſter, weighed anchor; though, as there was but little wind, and that not in their favour, they were obliged to warp out of the harbour. When they had reached an offing, one of the boats was diſpatched back again to ſet fire to our prizes, which was accordingly executed. After this a canoe was left, fixed to a grapnel in the middle of the harbour, with a bottle in it well corked, incloſing a letter to Mr. Hughs, who commanded the cutter which had been ordered to cruiſe before the port of Acapulco, when we ourſelves quitted that ſtation. And on this occaſion, I muſt mention more particularly than I have yet done, the views of the Commodore in leaving the cutter before that port.

When we were neceſſitated to proceed for Chequetan to recruit our water, Mr. Anſon conſidered that our arrival in that harbour would ſoon be known at Acapulco; and therefore he hoped, that, on the intelligence of our being employed in port, the galeon might put to ſea, eſpecially as Chequetan is ſo very remote from the courſe generally ſteered by the galeon: he therefore ordered the cutter to cruiſe twenty-four days off the port of Acapul-

co, and her commander was directed, on perceiving the galeon under ſail, to make the beſt of his way to the Commodore at Chequetan. As the Centurion was doubtleſs a much better ſailor than the galeon, Mr. Anſon, in this caſe, reſolved to have got to ſea as ſoon as poſſible, and to have purſued the galeon acroſs the Pacific ocean; where, ſuppoſing he ſhould not have met with her in his paſſage (which, conſidering that he would have kept nearly the ſame parallel, was very improbable); yet he was certain of arriving off Cape Eſpiritu Santo, on the iſland of Samal, before her; and that being the firſt land ſhe makes on her return to the Philippines, we could not have failed to have fallen in with her, by cruiſing a few days in that ſtation: however, the viceroy of Mexico ruined this project, by keeping the galeon in the port of Acapulco all that year.

The letter left in the canoe for Mr. Hughs, the commander of the cutter, the time of whoſe return was now conſiderably elapſed, directed him to go back immediately to his former ſtation before Acapulco, where he would find Mr. Anſon, who reſolved to cruiſe for him there a certain number of days, after which it was added, that the Commodore would return to the ſouthward to join the reſt of the ſquadron. This laſt article was inſerted to deceive the Spaniards, if they got poſſeſſion of the canoe, as we afterwards learned they did, but could not impoſe on Mr. Hughs, who well knew that the Commodore had no ſquadron to join, nor any intention of ſteering back to Peru.

Being now in the offing of Chequetan, bound croſs the vaſt Pacific ocean in our way to China, we were impatient to run off the coaſt as ſoon as poſſible, ſince the ſtormy ſeaſon was approaching apace. As we had no farther views in the American ſeas, we had hoped that nothing would have prevented us from ſteering to the weſtward the moment we got out of the harbour of Chequetan; and it was no ſmall mortification to us, that our neceſſary employment there had detained us ſo much longer than we expected; but now, when we had put to ſea, we were further detained by the abſence of our cutter, and the neceſſity we were under of ſtanding towards Acapulco in ſearch of her. Indeed, as the time of her cruiſe had been expir-

ed for near a fortnight, we ſuſpected that ſhe had been diſcovered from the ſhore, and that the governor of Acapulco had thereupon ſent out a force to ſeize her, which, as ſhe carried but ſix hands, was no very difficult enterpriſe. However, this being only conjecture, the Commodore, as ſoon as he got clear of the harbour of Chequetan, ſtood along the coaſt to the eaſtward in ſearch of her; and to prevent her paſſing by us in the dark, we brought to every night, and the Glouceſter, whoſe ſtation was a league within us towards the ſhore, carried a light, which the cutter could not but perceive if ſhe kept along ſhore, as we ſuppoſed ſhe would do; beſides, as a further ſecurity, the Centurion and Glouceſter alternately ſhowed two falſe fires every half hour. Indeed, had ſhe eſcaped us, ſhe would have found orders in the canoe to have returned immediately before Acapulco, where Mr. Anſon propoſed to cruiſe for her ſome days.

By Sunday, the 2d of May, we were advanced within three leagues of Acapulco, and having ſeen nothing of our boat, we gave her over for loſt, which beſides the compaſſionate concern for our ſhip-mates, and for what it was apprehended they might have ſuffered, was in itſelf a misfortune, which in our preſent ſcarcity of hands, we were all greatly intereſted in; ſince the crew of the cutter, conſiſting of ſix men and the lieutenant, were the very flower of our people, purpoſely picked out for this ſervice, and known to be every one of them of tried and approved reſolution, and as ſkilful ſeamen as ever trode a deck. However, as it was the general belief among us that they were taken and carried into Acapulco, the Commodore's prudence ſuggeſted a project which he hoped would recover them. This was founded on our having many Spaniſh and Indian priſoners in our poſſeſſion, and a number of ſick negroes, who could be of no ſervice to us in navigating of the ſhip. The Commodore therefore wrote a letter to the governor of Acapulco, telling him, that he would releaſe them all, provided the governor returned the cutter's crew. This letter was diſpatched in the afternoon, by a Spaniſh officer, of whoſe honour we had a good opinion, and who was furniſhed with a launch belonging to one of our prizes, and a crew of ſix other priſoners, who gave their parole for their return. The Span-

iſh officer too, beſides the Commodore's letter, carried with him a joint petition, ſigned by all the reſt of the priſoners, beſeeching the governor to acquieſce in the terms propoſed for their liberty. From a conſideration of the number of our priſoners, and the quality of ſome of them, we did not doubt but the governor would readily comply with Mr. Anſon's propoſal, and therefore we kept plying on and off the whole night, intending to keep well in with the land, that we might receive an anſwer at the limited time, which was the next day, being Monday; but both on Monday and Tueſday, we were driven ſo far off ſhore, that we could not hope that any anſwer could reach us; and even on the Wedneſday morning, we found ourſelves fourteen leagues from the harbour of Acapulco; however, as the wind was then favourable, we preſſed forward with all our ſail, and did not doubt of getting in with the land that afternoon. Whilſt we were thus ſtanding in, the centinel called out from the maſt head, that he ſaw a boat under ſail, at a conſiderable diſtance, to the ſouth-eaſtward: this we took for granted was the anſwer from the governor to the Commodore's meſſage, and we inſtantly edged towards her; but as we approached her, we found, to our unſpeakable joy, that it was our own cutter. And though, while ſhe was ſtill at a diſtance, we imagined that ſhe had been diſcharged out of the port of Acapulco by the governor, yet, when ſhe drew nearer, the wan and meagre countenances of the crew, the length of their beards, and the feeble and hollow tone of their voices, convinced us that they had ſuffered much greater hardſhips than could be expected from even the ſeverities of a Spaniſh priſon. They were obliged to be helped into the ſhip, and were immediately put to bed, where, by reſt and nouriſhing diet, which they were plentifully ſupplied with from the Commodore's table, they recovered their health and vigour a pace. And now we learned, that they had kept the ſea the whole time of their abſence, which was above ſix weeks; that when they had finiſhed their cruiſe before Acapulco, and had juſt begun to ply to the weſtward, in order to join the ſquadron, a ſtrong adverſe current had forced them down the coaſt to the eaſtward, in ſpite of all their efforts to the contrary: that at length their water being all expended, they were o-

bliged to ſearch the coaſt farther on to the eaſtward, in queſt of ſome convenient landing place, where they might get a freſh ſupply; that in this diſtreſs they ran upwards of eighty leagues to leeward, and found every where ſo large a ſurf, that there was not the leaſt poſſibility of their landing; that they paſſed ſome days in this dreadful ſituation without water, having no other means left them to allay their thirſt, than ſucking the blood of the turtle which they caught; that at laſt giving up all hopes of ſuccour, the heat of the climate too augmenting their neceſſities, and rendering their ſufferings inſupportable, they abandoned themſelves to deſpair, fully perſuaded that they ſhould periſh by the moſt terrible of all deaths; but that ſoon after, a moſt unexpected incident happily relieved them; for there fell ſo heavy a rain, that, on ſpreading their ſails horizontally, and putting bullets in the centers of them, to draw them to a point, they caught as much water as filled all their caſks: that immediately upon this fortunate ſupply they ſtood to the weſtward, in queſt of the Commodore, and being now luckily favoured by a ſtrong current, they joined us in leſs than fifty hours from that time, after having been abſent in the whole full forty-three days. Thoſe who have an idea of the inconſiderable ſize of a cutter belonging to a ſixty-gun ſhip, (being only an open boat about twenty two feet in length) and who will reflect on the various caſualities that muſt have attended her during a ſix weeks continuance alone in the open ocean, on ſo impracticable and dangerous a coaſt, will readily own, that her return to us at laſt, after all the difficulties which ſhe actually experienced, and the dangers to which ſhe was each hour expoſed, may be conſidered as little ſhort of miraculous.

I cannot finiſh this article of the cutter, without remarking how ſlender a reliance navigators ought to have on the accounts of the Buccaneer writers: for though in this run of her's, eighty leagues to the eaſtward of Acapulco, ſhe found no place where it was poſſible that a boat could land, yet thoſe writers have not been aſhamed to feign harbours and convenient watering-places within theſe limits, thereby expoſing ſuch as ſhould confide in their relations to the riſk of being deſtroyed by thirſt.

I muſt farther add, on this occaſion, that when we ſtood near the port of Acapulco, in order to ſend our meſſage to the governor, and to receive his anſwer, Mr Brett took that opportunity, of delineating a view of the entrance of the port, and of the neighbouring coaſt, which, added to the plan of the place formerly mentioned, may be of conſiderable uſe hereafter, and is therefore exhibited in the XXXII. plate. In this plate (*a*) is the weſt point of the harbour, called the Griffo, being in the latitude of 16° : 45′; (*b c*) is the iſland near it, bearing from the obſerver N. by E. three leagues diſtant; (*d*) is the eaſt point of the harbour; (*e*) port Marquis; (*f*) Sierra di Brea; (*h*) a white rock in the harbour; and (*g*) watch towers.

Having thus recovered our cutter, the ſole object of our coming a ſecond time before Acapulco, the Commodore determined not to loſe a moment's time more, but to run off the coaſt with the utmoſt expedition; both as the ſtormy ſeaſon on the coaſt of Mexico was now approaching a pace, and as we were apprehenſive of having the weſterly monſoon to ſtruggle with when we came upon the coaſt of China. For this reaſon we no longer ſtood towards Acapulco, as at preſent we wanted no anſwer from the governor. However, Mr. Anſon reſolved not to deprive his priſoners of the liberty which he had promiſed them; and therefore they were all immediately embarked in two launches, which belonged to our prizes; thoſe from the Centurion in one launch, and thoſe from the Glouceſter in the other. The launches were well equipped with maſts, ſails, and oars: and, leſt the wind might prove unfavourable, they had a ſtock of water and proviſions put on board them ſufficient for fourteen days. There were diſcharged thirty-nine perſons from on board the Centurion, and eighteen from the Glouceſter; the greateſt part of them were Spaniards, the reſt being Indians and ſick negroes. Indeed, as our crews were very weak, we kept the Mulattoes, and ſome of the ſtouteſt of our negroes, with a few Indians, to aſſiſt us: but we diſmiſſed every Spaniſh priſoner whatever. We have ſince learned, that theſe two launches arrived ſafe at Acapulco, where the priſoners could not enough extol the humanity with which they had been treated. It ſeems the governor, before their arrival, had returned a very obliging an-

ſwer to our letter, and had at the ſame time ordered out two boats laden with the choiceſt refreſhments and proviſions that were to be procured at Acapulco, which he intended as a preſent to the Commodore; but theſe boats not having found our ſhips, were at length obliged to put back again, after having thrown all their proviſions overboard in a ſtorm which threatened their deſtruction.

The ſending away our priſoners was our laſt tranſaction on the American coaſt; for no ſooner had we parted with them, than we and the Glouceſter made ſail to the S. W. propoſing to get a good offing from the land, where we hoped in a few days to meet with a regular trade wind, which the accounts of former navigators had repreſented as much briſker and ſteadier in this ocean than in any other part of the world. For it has been eſteemed no uncommon paſſage, to run from hence to the eaſtermoſt iſles of Aſia in two months; and we flattered ourſelves that we were as capable of making an expeditious voyage as any ſhips that had ever ſailed this courſe before us; ſo that we hoped ſoon to gain the coaſt of China, for which we were now bound. As we conceived this navigation to be free from all kinds of embarraſſments of bad weather, fatigue, or ſickneſs, conformable to the general idea of it given by former travellers, we conſequently undertook it with alacrity; eſpecially as it was no contemptible ſtep towards our arrival at our native country, for which many of us by this time began to have great longings. Thus on the 6th of May, we for the laſt time loſt ſight of the mountains of Mexico, perſuaded that, in a few weeks, we ſhould arrive at the river of Canton in China, where we expected to meet with many Engliſh ſhips, and with numbers of our countrymen, and hoped to enjoy the advantages of an amicable well frequented port, inhabited by a poliſhed people, and abounding with the conveniences and indulgences of a civilized life; bleſſings which now, for near twenty months, had never been once in our power. But before we take our final leave of America, there yet remains the conſideration of a matter well worthy of attention, the diſcuſſion of which ſhall be referred to in the enſuing chapter.

## CHAP. XIV.

*A brief Account of what might have been expected from our Squadron had it arrived in the* SOUTH SEAS *in good Time.*

AFTER the recital of the tranſactions of the Commodore, and the ſhips under his command, on the coaſts of Peru and Mexico, contained in the preceding narration, it will be no uſeleſs digreſſion to examine what the whole ſquadron might have been capable of atchieving, had it arrived on its deſtined ſcene of action in ſo good a plight as it would probably have done, had the paſſage round Cape Horn been attempted at a more ſeaſonable time of the year. This diſquiſition may be ſerviceable to thoſe who ſhall hereafter form projects of the like nature for that part of the world, or who may be entruſted with their execution. And therefore I propoſe in this chapter to conſider, as ſuccinctly as I can, the numerous advantages which the public might have received from the operations of the ſquadron, had it ſet ſail from England a few months ſooner than it did.

To begin then, I preſume it will be granted me, that in the ſummer time we might have got round Cape Horn with an inconſiderable loſs, and without any material damage to our ſhips or rigging. For the Duke and Dutcheſs of Briſtol, who, between them, had above three hundred men, buried no more than two, from the coaſt of Brazil to Juan Fernandes; and out of a hundred and eighty-three hands, which were on board the Duke alone, there were only twenty one ſick of the ſcurvy when they arrived at that iſland: whence, as men of war are much better provided with all conveniences than privateers, we might doubtleſs have appeared before Baldivia in full ſtrength, and in a condition of entering immediately on action; and therefore, as that place was in a very defenceleſs ſtate, its cannon incapable of ſervice, and its garriſon, in a great meaſure, unarmed, it was impoſſible that it could have oppoſed our force, or that its half ſtarved inhabitants, moſt of whom are convicts baniſhed thither

from other parts, could have had any other thoughts than that of ſubmitting. This would have been a very important acquiſition; ſince when Baldivia, which is an excellent port, had been once in our poſſeſſion, we ſhould immediately have been terrible to the whole kingdom of Chili, and ſhould doubtleſs have awed the moſt diſtant parts of the Spaniſh empire in America. Indeed it is far from improbable, that, by a prudent uſe of this place, aided by our other advantages, we might have given a violent ſhock to the authority of Spain on that whole continent, and might have rendered ſome, at leaſt, of her provinces independent. This would certainly have turned the whole attention of the Spaniſh miniſtry to that part of the world where the danger would have been ſo preſſing; and thence Great Britain, and her allies, might have been rid of the numerous difficulties which the wealth of the Spaniſh Indies, operating in conjunction with the Gallic intrigues, have conſtantly thrown in their way.

But that I may not be thought to over rate the force of this ſquadron, by aſcribing to it a power of overturning the Spaniſh government in America, it is neceſſary to enter into a more particular diſcuſſion, and to premiſe a few obſervations on the condition of the provinces bordering near the South Seas, and on the diſpoſition of the inhabitants, both Spaniards and Indians at that time. For hence it will appear, that the conjuncture was the moſt favourable we could have deſired; ſince we ſhall find, that the Creolian ſubjects were diſaffected, and their governors at variance; that the country was wretchedly provided with arms and ſtores, and they had fallen into a total neglect of all military regulations in their garriſons; and that the Indians on their frontier were univerſally diſcontented, and ſeemed to be watching, with impatience, the favourable moment when they might take a ſevere revenge for the barbarities they had groaned under during more than two ages; ſo that every circumſtance concurred to facilitate the enterpriſes of our ſquadron. Of all theſe articles we were amply informed by the letters we took on board our prizes; none of theſe veſſels, as I remember, having had the precaution to throw their papers over board.

The ill blood among the governors was greatly augmented by their apprehenſions of our ſquadron; for every one being willing to have it believed that the bad condition of his government was not the effect of negligence, there were continual demands and remonſtrances among them, in order to throw the blame upon each other. Thus, for inſtance, the preſident of St. Jago in Chili, the preſident of Panama, and many other governors and military officers, were perpetually ſoliciting the viceroy of Peru to furniſh them with the neceſſary ſums of money for putting their provinces and places in a proper ſtate of defence to oppoſe our deſigns; but the cuſtomary anſwer of the viceroy to theſe repreſentations was, That he was unable to comply with their requeſts; urging the emptineſs of the royal cheſt at Lima, and the difficulties he was under to ſupport the expences of his own government; he in one of his letters, (which we intercepted) mentioning his apprehenſions that he might ſoon be neceſſitated to ſtop the pay of the troops, and even the garriſon of Callao, the key of the whole kingdom of Peru. Indeed, he did at times remit to theſe governors ſome part of their demands; but as what he ſent them was greatly ſhort of their wants, theſe partial ſupplies rather tended to the raiſing jealouſies and heart-burnings among them, than contributed to the purpoſes for which they had been at firſt deſired.

Beſides theſe mutual janglings amongſt the governors, the whole body of the people were extremely diſſatisfied; they being fully perſuaded that the affairs of Spain, for many years before, had been managed by the influence of a particular foreign intereſt, which was altogether detached from the advantages of the Spaniſh nation: ſo that the inhabitants of theſe diſtant provinces believed themſelves to be ſacrificed to an ambition, which never conſidered their convenience or emoluments, nor paid any regard to the reputation of their name, or the honour of their country. That this was the temper of the Creolian Spaniards at that time, might be proved from a hundred inſtances: but I ſhall content myſelf with one, which is indeed concluſive; this is the teſtimony of the French mathematicians ſent into America, to meaſure the magnitude of an equatorial degree of latitude. For in the relation of the murder of a ſurgeon belonging to their company, in one

of the cities of Peru, and of the popular tumult thence occaſioned, written by one of thoſe aſtronomers, the author confeſſes, that the multitude, during the uproar, univerſally joined in imprecations on their bad government, and beſtowed the moſt abuſive language upon the French, deteſting them, in all probability, more particularly as being of a nation to whoſe influence in the Spaniſh counſels the Spaniards imputed all their misfortunes.

And whilſt the Creolian Spaniards were thus diſſatisfied, it appears by the letters we intercepted, that the Indians, on almoſt every frontier, were ripe for a revolt, and would have taken up arms upon the ſlighteſt encouragement; particularly the Indians in the ſouthern parts of Peru, as likewiſe the Arraucos, and the reſt of the Chilian Indians, the moſt powerful and terrible to the Spaniſh name of any on that continent. For it ſeems, in ſome diſputes between the Spaniards and the Indians, which happened a ſhort time before our arrival, the Spaniards had inſulted the Indians with an account of the force which they expected from old Spain, under the command of Admiral Pizarro, and had vaunted that he was coming thither to complete the great work which had been left unfiniſhed by his anceſtors. Theſe threats alarmed the Indians, and made them believe that their extirpation was reſolved on. For the Pizarros being the firſt conquerors of that coaſt, the Peruvian Indians held the name, and all that bore it, in execration; not having forgot the deſtruction of their monarchy, the maſſacre of their beloved Inca, Atabalipa, the extinction of their religion, and the ſlaughter of their anceſtors; all perpetrated by the family of the Pizarros. The Chilian Indians too abhorred a chief who was deſcended of a race, which, by its lieutenants, had firſt attempted to enſlave them, and had neceſſitated the ſtouteſt of their tribes, for more than a century, to be continually waſting their blood in defence of their independency.

Nor let it be ſuppoſed, that among the barbarous nations, the traditions of theſe diſtant tranſactions could not be preſerved for ſo long an interval; ſince thoſe who have been acquainted with that part of the world agree, that the Indians, in their public feaſts and annual ſolemni-

ties, conſtantly revive the memory of theſe tragic incidents; and ſuch as have been preſent at theſe ſpectacles, have conſtantly obſerved, that all the recitals and repreſentations of this kind were received with emotions ſo vehement, and with ſo enthuſiaſtic a rage, as plainly demonſtrated how ſtrongly the memory of their former wrongs was implanted in them, and how acceptable the means of revenge would at all times prove. To this I muſt add too, that the Spaniſh governors themſelves were ſo fully informed of the diſpoſition of the Indians at this conjuncture, and were ſo apprehenſive of a general defection among them, that they employed all their induſtry to reconcile the moſt dangerous tribes, and to prevent them from immediately taking up arms; amongſt the reſt, the preſident of Chili in particular made large conceſſions to the Arraucos, and the other Chilian Indians, by which, and by diſtributing conſiderable preſents to their leading men, he, at laſt, got them to conſent to a prolongation of the truce between the two nations. But theſe negotiations were not concluded at the time when we might have been in the South Seas; and, had they been completed, yet the hatred of theſe Indians to the Spaniards was ſo great, that it would have been impoſſible for their chiefs, how deeply ſoever corrupted, to have kept them from joining us againſt their old deteſted enemy.

Thus then it appears, that on our arrival in the South Seas, we might have found the whole coaſt unprovided of troops, and deſtitute even of arms: for we well knew, from very particular intelligence, that there were not three hundred fire arms, of which too the greateſt part were match locks, in all the province of Chili; whilſt at the ſame time, the Indians were ripe for a revolt, the Spaniards diſpoſed to mutiny, and the governors enraged with one another, and each prepared to rejoice in the diſgrace of his antagoniſt. At this fortunate criſis we, on the other hand, might have conſiſted of near two thouſand men, the greateſt part in health and vigour, all well armed, and united under a chief, whoſe enterpriſing genius, as we have ſeen, could not be depreſſed by a continued ſeries of the moſt ſiniſter events; and whoſe equable and prudent turn of temper would have remained unvaried in the midſt of the greateſt degree of good ſucceſs; and who

beſides poſſeſſed, in a diſtinguiſhed manner, the two qualities the moſt neceſſary for theſe uncommon undertakings, I mean that of maintaining his authority, and preſerving, at the ſame time, the affections of his people. Our other officers too, of every rank, appear, by the experience the public hath ſince had of them, to have been equal to any attempt they might have been charged with by their commander: and our men (at all times brave if well conducted) in ſuch a cauſe, where treaſure was the object, and under ſuch leaders, would, doubtleſs, have been prepared to rival the moſt celebrated atchievements hitherto performed by Britiſh mariners.

It cannot then be conteſted, but that Baldivia muſt have ſurrendered on the appearance of our ſquadron; after which, it may be preſumed, that the Arraucos, the Pulches, and the Penguinches, inhabiting the banks of the river Imperial, about twenty five leagues to the northward of this place, would have immediately taken up arms, being diſpoſed thereto, as hath been already related, and encouraged by the arrival of ſo conſiderable a force in their neighbourhood. As theſe Indians can bring into the field near thirty thouſand men, the greateſt part of them horſe, their firſt ſtep would have been the invading the province of Chili, which they would have found totally unprovided both of ammunition and weapons; and as its inhabitants are a luxurious and effeminate race, they would have been incapable, on ſuch an emergency, of giving any oppoſition to this rugged enemy; ſo that it is no ſtrained conjecture to imagine, that the Indians would have been ſoon maſters of the whole country. Moreover, the other Indians on the frontiers of Peru, being equally diſpoſed with the Arraucos to ſhake off the Spaniſh yoke, it is highly probable that they likewiſe would have embraced this favourable occaſion, and that a general inſurrection would have taken place through all the Spaniſh territories of South America; in which caſe, the only reſource left to the Creolians (diſſatisfied as they were with the Spaniſh government) would have been to have made the beſt terms they could with their Indian neighbours, and to have withdrawn themſelves from the obedience of a maſter who had ſhown ſo little regard to their ſecurity. This laſt ſuppoſition may perhaps appear chimerical to thoſe

who meaſure the poſſibility of all events, by the ſcanty ſtandard of their own experience: but the temper of the times, and the ſtrong diſlike of the natives to the meaſures then purſued by the Spaniſh court, ſufficiently evince, at leaſt, its poſſibility. However, not to inſiſt on the preſumption of a general revolt, it is ſufficient for our purpoſe to conclude, that the Arraucos would ſcarcely have failed of taking arms on our appearance: ſince this alone would ſo far have terrified the enemy, that they would no longer have employed their thoughts on the means of oppoſing us, but would have turned all their care to the Indian affairs; as they ſtill remember, with the utmoſt horror, the ſacking of their cities, the rifling of their convents, the captivity of their wives and daughters, and the deſolation of their country by theſe reſolute ſavages, in the laſt war between the two nations. For it muſt be obſerved, the Chilian Indians have been frequently ſucceſsful againſt the Spaniards, and poſſeſs, at this time, a large track of country, which was formerly full of Spaniſh towns and villages, whoſe inhabitants were all either deſtroyed, or carried into captivity by the Arraucos, and the other neighbouring Indians, who, in a war againſt the Spaniards, never fail to join their forces.

But even, independent of an Indian revolt, there were two places only, on all the coaſt of the South Sea, which could be ſuppoſed capable of reſiſting our ſquadron; theſe were the cities of Panama and Callao. As to the firſt of theſe, its fortifications were ſo decayed, and it was ſo much in want of powder, that the preſident himſelf, in an intercepted letter, acknowledged it was incapable of being defended; whence I take it for granted, it would have given us but little trouble, eſpecially if we had opened a communication acroſs the iſthmus, with our fleet on the other ſide. And, with regard to the city and port of Callao, its condition was not much better than that of Panama; ſince its walls are built upon the plain ground, without either outwork or ditch before them, and conſiſt only of very ſlender feeble maſonry, without any earth behind them; ſo that a battery of five or ſix pieces of cannon, raiſed any where within four or five hundred paces of the place, would have had a full view of the whole rampart, and would have opened it in a ſhort time;

and the breach hereby formed, as the walls are ſo extremely thin, could not have been difficult of aſcent; for the ruins would have been but little higher than the ſurface of the ground; and it would have yielded this particular advantage to the aſſailants, that the bullets, which grazed upon it, would have driven before them ſuch ſhivers of brick and ſtone, as would have prevented the garriſon from forming behind it, ſuppoſing that the troops employed in defence of the place ſhould have ſo far ſurpaſſed the uſual limits of Creolian bravery, as to reſolve to ſtand a general aſſault. Indeed ſuch a reſolution cannot be imputed to them; for the garriſon and people were, in general, diſſatisfied with the viceroy's behaviour, and were never expected to act a vigorous part. On the contrary, the viceroy himſelf greatly apprehended that the Commodore would make him a viſit at Lima, the capital of the kingdom of Peru; to prevent which, if poſſible, he had ordered twelve galleys to be built at Guaiaquil and other places, which were intended to oppoſe the landing of our boats, and to hinder us from puſhing our men on ſhore. But this was an impracticable project of defence, and proceeded on the ſuppoſition that our ſhips, when we ſhould land our men, would keep at ſuch a diſtance, that theſe galleys, by drawing little water, would have been out of the reach of our guns; whereas the Commodore, before he had made ſuch an attempt, would, doubtleſs, have been poſſeſſed of ſeveral prize ſhips, which he would not have heſitated to have run on ſhore for the protection of his boats; and beſides, there were many places on that coaſt, and one particularly in the neighbourhood of Callao, where there was good anchoring, though a great depth of water, within a cable's length of the ſhore; conſequently the cannon of the men of war would have ſwept all the coaſt to above a mile's diſtance from the water's edge, and would have effectually prevented any force from aſſembling to oppoſe the landing and forming of our men: and this landing place had the additional advantage, that it was but two leagues diſtant from Lima; ſo that we might have been at that city, within four hours after we ſhould have been firſt diſcovered from the ſhore. The place I have in view is about two leagues ſouth of Callao, and juſt to the northward of the head land called, in Frezier's draught of that coaſt, Morro Solar. Here there is ſeventy or eighty fa-

thom of water, within two cables length of the ſhore; and here the Spaniards themſelves were ſo apprehenſive of our attempting to land, that they had projected to build a fort cloſe to the water; but as there was no money in the royal cheſts, they could not complete ſo conſiderable a work; and therefore they contented themſelves with keeping a guard of a hundred horſe there, that they might be ſure to receive early notice of our appearance on that coaſt. Indeed ſome of them, as we were told, conceiving our management at ſea to be as puſillanimous as their own, pretended that this was a road where the Commodore would never dare to hazard his ſhips, for fear that, in ſo great a depth of water, their anchors could not hold them,

And let it not be imagined, that I am proceeding upon groundleſs and extravagant preſumptions, when I conclude, that fifteen hundred, or a thouſand of our people, well conducted, ſhould have been an overmatch for any numbers the Spaniards could muſter in South America; ſince, not to mention the experience we had of them at Paita and Petaplan, it muſt be remembered, that our Commodore was extremely ſolicitous to have all his men trained to the dextrous uſe of their fire-arms; whereas the Spaniards, in this part of the world, were wretchedly provided with arms, and were very aukward in the management of the few they had: and though on their repeated repreſentations, the court of Spain had ordered ſeveral thouſand firelocks to be put on board Pizarro's ſquadron, yet thoſe, it is evident, could not have been in America time enough to have been employed againſt us. Hence then, by our arms, and our readineſs in the uſe of them (not to inſiſt on the timidity and ſoftneſs of our enemy) we ſhould, in ſome degree, have had the ſame advantages which the Spaniards themſelves had on the firſt diſcovery of this country, againſt its naked and unarmed inhabitants.

Now let it, in the next place, be conſidered, what were the events which we had to fear, or what were the circumſtances which could have prevented us from giving law to all the coaſt of South America, and thereby cutting off from Spain the reſources which ſhe drew from thoſe im-

menſe provinces. By ſea there was no force capable of oppoſing us; for how ſoon ſoever we had ſailed, Pizarro's ſquadron could not have ſailed ſooner than it did; and therefore could not have avoided the fate it met with. As we ſhould have been maſters of the ports of Chili, we could thereby have ſupplied ourſelves with the proviſions we wanted in the greateſt plenty: and from Baldivia to the equinoctial, we ran no riſk of loſing our men by ſickneſs, (that being of all climates the moſt temperate and healthy) nor of having our ſhips diſabled by bad weather. And had we wanted ſailors to aſſiſt in the navigating of our ſquadron, whilſt a conſiderable proportion of our men were employed on ſhore, we could not have failed of getting whatever numbers we pleaſed in the ports we ſhould have taken, and from the prizes which would have fallen into our hands. For I muſt obſerve, that the Indians, who are the principal mariners in that part of the world, are extremely docile and dextrous: and though they are not fit to ſtruggle with the inclemencies of a cold climate, yet, in temperate ſeas, they are moſt uſeful and laborious ſeamen.

Thus then it appears, what important revolutions might have been brought about by our ſquadron, had it departed from England as early as it ought to have done: and, from hence, it is eaſy to conclude, what immenſe advantages might have thence accrued to the public. For as, on our ſucceſs, it would have been impoſſible that the kingdom of Spain ſhould have received any treaſure from the provinces bordering on the South Seas, or ſhould even have had any communication with them, it is certain that the whole attention of that monarchy would have been immediately employed in endeavouring to regain theſe ineſtimable territories, either by force of arms or compact. By the firſt of theſe methods, it was ſcarcely poſſible they could ſucceed; for it muſt have been at leaſt a twelvemonth, after our arrival, before any ſhips from Spain could have got into the South Seas, and when they had been there, they would have found themſelves without reſource; ſince they would probably have been ſeparated, diſabled, and ſickly; and would then have had no port remaining in their poſſeſſion, where they could either rendezvous or reſiſt: whilſt we might have been ſupplied a-

croſs the iſthmus with whatever neceſſaries, ſtores, or even men, we wanted; and might thereby have ſupported our ſquadron in as good a plight as when it firſt ſet ſail from St. Helens. In ſhort, it required but little prudence ſo to have conducted this buſineſs, as to have rendered all the efforts of Spain, ſeconded by the power of France, ineffectual, and to have maintained our conqueſt in defiance of them both; whence they muſt either have reſolved to have left Great Britain miſtreſs of the wealth of South America (the principal ſupport of all their deſtructive projects) or they muſt have ſubmitted to her terms, and have been contented to receive theſe provinces back again, as an equivalent for ſuch reſtrictions to their future ambition, as ſhe, in her prudence, ſhould have dictated to them. Having thus diſcuſſed the prodigious weight which the operations of our ſquadron might have added to the national influence of this kingdom, I ſhall here end this ſecond book, referring to the next, the paſſage of the ſcattered remains of our force acroſs the Pacific ocean, and all their ſubſequent tranſactions, till the Commodore's arrival in England.

END OF THE SECOND BOOK.

# A VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD, &c.

## BOOK III.

### CHAP. I.

*The Run from the Coaſt of* MEXICO *to the* LADRONES *or* MARIAN ISLANDS.

WHEN, on the 6th of May 1742, we left the coaſt of America, we ſtood to the S. W. with a view of meeting the N. E. trade-wind, which the accounts of former writers taught us to expect at ſeventy or eighty leagues from the land; we had beſides another reaſon for ſtanding to the ſouthward, which was the getting into the latitude of 13° or 14° north, that being the parallel where the Pacific ocean is moſt uſually croſſed, and conſequently where the navigation is eſteemed the ſafeſt. This laſt purpoſe we had ſoon anſwered, being, in a day or two, ſufficiently advanced to the ſouth. But though we were, at the ſame time, more diſtant from the ſhore, than we had preſumed was neceſſary for the falling in with the trade-wind, yet in this particular, we were moſt grievouſly diſappointed, the wind ſtill continuing to the weſtward, or, at beſt, variable. As the getting into the N.

E. trade, was to us a matter of the laſt conſequence, we ſtood yet more to the ſouthward, and made many experiments to meet with it; but all our efforts were, for a long time, unſucceſsful; ſo that it was ſeven weeks, from our leaving the coaſt, before we got into the true trade wind. This was an interval in which we had at firſt believed we ſhould well nigh have reached the eaſtermoſt parts of Aſia; but we were ſo baffled with the contrary and variable winds, which, for all that time, perplexed us, that we were not, as yet, advanced above a fourth of the way. The delay alone would have been a ſufficient mortification; but there were other circumſtances attending it, which rendered this ſituation not leſs terrible, and our apprehenſions, perhaps, ſtill greater than in any of our paſt calamities. For our two ſhips were, by this time, extremely crazy, and many days had not paſſed before we diſcovered a ſpring in the foremaſt of the Centurion, which rounded about twenty ſix inches of its circumference, and which was judged to be, at leaſt, four inches deep. And no ſooner had the carpenters ſecured this maſt, with fiſhing it, than the Glouceſter made a ſignal of diſtreſs, to inform us that ſhe had a ſpring in her main maſt, twelve feet below the truſſel trees, which appeared ſo dangerous that ſhe could not carry any ſail upon it. Our carpenters, on a ſtrict examination of this maſt, found it exceſſively rotten and decayed; and it being judged neceſſary to cut it down as low as it was defective, it was, by this means, reduced to nothing but a ſtump, which ſerved only as a ſtep to the top maſt. Theſe accidents augmented our delay, and, being added to our other diſtreſſes, occaſioned us great anxiety about our future ſafety. For though, after our departure from Juan Fernandes, we had enjoyed a moſt uninterrupted ſtate of health, till our leaving the coaſt of Mexico; yet the ſcurvy now began to make freſh havock amongſt our people; and we too well knew the effects of this diſeaſe, by our former fatal experience; to ſuppoſe that any thing, except a ſpeedy paſſage, could ſecure the greater part of our crew from being deſtroyed thereby. But as after being ſeven weeks at ſea, there did not appear any reaſons that could perſuade us we were nearer the trade wind than when we ſet out: there was no ground for us to imagine, that our paſſage would not prove, at leaſt, three times as long as we at firſt expected;

and conſequently we had the melancholy proſpect either of dying by the ſcurvy, or of periſhing with the ſhip for want of hands to navigate her. Indeed, ſeveral amongſt us were willing to believe, that in this warm climate, ſo different from what we felt in paſſing round Cape Horn, the violence of this diſeaſe, and its fatality might be, in ſome degree, mitigated, as it had not been unuſual to ſuppoſe, that its particular virulence, during that paſſage, was, in a great meaſure, owing to the ſeverity of the weather; but the ravage of the diſtemper, in our preſent circumſtances, ſoon convinced us of the falſity of this ſpeculation, as it likewiſe exploded certain other opinions which uſually paſs current about the cauſe and nature of this diſeaſe:

For it has been generally preſumed, that ſufficient ſupplies of water and of freſh proviſions are effectual preventives of this malady; but it happened that, in the preſent caſe, we had a conſiderable ſtock of freſh proviſions on board, being the hogs and fowls which were taken at Paita; we, beſides, almoſt daily caught great abundance of bonitoes, dolphins, and albicores; and the unſettled ſeaſon, which deprived us of the benefit of the trade wind, proved extremely rainy; ſo that we were enabled to fill up our water caſks almoſt as faſt as they were empty; and each man had five pints of water allowed him every day during the paſſage. But notwithſtanding this plenty of water, notwithſtanding that the freſh proviſions were diſtributed amongſt the ſick, and the whole crew often fed upon fiſh; yet neither were the ſick hereby relieved, or the progreſs or malignity of the diſeaſe at all abated. Nor was it in theſe inſtances only that we found the general maxims upon this head defective: for though it has been uſually eſteemed a neceſſary piece of management to keep all ſhips, where the crews are large, as clean and airy between decks as poſſible: and it hath been believed by many, that this particular alone, if well attended to, would prevent the appearance of the ſcurvy, or, at leaſt, mitigate its virulence; yet we obſerved, during the latter part of our run, that though we kept all our ports open, and took uncommon pains in cleanſing and ſweetening the ſhips, the diſeaſe ſtill raged with as much violence as ever; nor did its advancement ſeem to be thereby ſenſibly retarded.

However, I would not be underſtood to aſſert, that freſh proviſions, plenty of water, and a conſtant ſupply of ſweet air between decks, are matters of no moment; I am, on the contrary, well ſatisfied, that they are, all of them, articles of great importance, and are, doubtleſs, extremely conducive to the health and vigour of a crew, and may, in many caſes, prevent this fatal malady from taking place. All I have aimed at in what I have advanced, is only to evince, that, in ſome inſtances, both the cure and prevention of this malady is impoſſible to be effected by any management, or by the application of any remedies which can be made uſe of at ſea. Indeed, I am myſelf fully perſuaded, that when it has got to a certain head, there are no other means in nature for relieving the ſick, but carrying them on ſhore, or, at leaſt, bringing them into the neighbourhood of the land. Perhaps a diſtinct and adequate knowledge of the ſource of this diſeaſe, may never be diſcovered: but, in general, there is no difficulty in conceiving, that as a continued ſupply of freſh air is neceſſary to all animal life, and as this air is ſo particular a fluid, that, without loſing its elaſticity, or any of its obvious properties, it may be rendered unfit for this purpoſe, by the mixing with it ſome very ſubtile, and otherwiſe imperceptible effluvia; it may be eaſily conceived, I ſay, that the ſteams ariſing from the ocean, may have a tendency to render the air they are ſpread through, leſs properly adapted to the ſupport of the life of terreſtrial animals, unleſs theſe ſteams are corrected by effluvia of another kind, which, perhaps, the land alone can afford.

To what hath been already ſaid in relation to this diſeaſe, I ſhall add, that our ſurgeon (who, during our paſſage round Cape Horn, had aſcribed the mortality we ſuffered to the ſeverity of the climate) exerted himſelf in the preſent run to the utmoſt; but he at laſt declared that all his meaſures were totally ineffectual, and did not in the leaſt avail his patients. On this it was reſolved by the Commodore to try the ſucceſs of two medicines, which, juſt before his departure from England, were the ſubject of much diſcourſe, I mean the pill and drop of Mr. Ward. For however violent the operations of theſe medicines are ſaid to have ſometimes proved, yet in the preſent inſtance, where, without ſome remedy, deſtruction ſeemed inevita-

ble, the experiment at leaſt was thought adviſeable: and therefore, one or both of them, at different times, were adminiſtered to perſons in every ſtage of the diſtemper. Out of the numbers who took them, one, ſoon after ſwallowing the pill, was ſeized with a violent bleeding at the noſe; he was before given over by the ſurgeon, and lay almoſt at the point of death; but he immediately found himſelf much better, and continued to recover, though ſlowly, till we arrived on ſhore, which was near a fortnight after. A few others too were relieved for ſome days, but the diſeaſe returned again with as much virulence as ever; though neither did theſe, nor the reſt, who received no benefit, appear to be reduced to a worſe condition, than they would have been if they had taken nothing. The moſt remarkable property of theſe medicines, and what was obvious in almoſt every one that took them, was, that they acted in proportion to the vigour of the patient; ſo that thoſe who were within two or three days of dying were ſcarcely affected; and as the patient was differently advanced in the diſeaſe, the operation was either a gentle perſpiration, an eaſy vomit, or a moderate purge: but if they were taken by one in full ſtrength, they then produced all the fore-mentioned effects with conſiderable violence, which ſometimes continued for ſix or eight hours together with little intermiſſion. However, let us return to the proſecution of our voyage.

I have already obſerved, that a few days after our running off the coaſt of Mexico, the Glouceſter had her main-maſt cut down to a ſtump, and we were obliged to fiſh our fore maſt; and that theſe misfortunes were greatly aggravated by our meeting with contrary and variable winds for near ſeven weeks; I ſhall now add, that when we now reached the trade-wind, and it ſettled between the north and the eaſt, yet it ſeldom blew with ſo much ſtrength, that the Centurion might not have carried all her ſmall ſails abroad without the leaſt danger; ſo that, had we been a ſingle ſhip, we might have run down our longitude a-pace, and have arrived at the Ladrones ſoon enough to have recovered great numbers of our men, who afterwards periſhed; but the Glouceſter, by the loſs of her main-maſt, ſailed ſo very heavily, that we had ſeldom any more than our top-ſails ſet, and yet were frequently

obliged to lie to for her; and I conceive, that, on the whole, we loſt little leſs than a month by our attendance upon her, in conſequence of the various miſchances ſhe encountered. During all this run, it was remarkable that we were rarely many days together without ſeeing great numbers of birds; which is a proof that there are ſeveral iſlands, or, at leaſt, rocks, ſcattered all along, at no very conſiderable diſtance from our track. Some indeed there are marked in the Spaniſh chart hereafter inſerted; but the frequency of theſe birds ſeems to aſcertain, that there are many more than have been hitherto diſcovered: for the moſt part of the birds we obſerved, were ſuch as are known to rooſt on ſhore; and the manner of their appearance ſufficiently evinced, that they came from ſome diſtant haunt every morning, and returned thither again in the evening; ſince we never ſaw them early or late; and the hour of their arrival and departure gradually varied, which, we ſuppoſed, was occaſioned by our running nearer their haunts, or getting farther from them.

The trade wind continued to favour us, without any fluctuation, from the end of June, till towards the end of July. But, on the 26th of July, being then, as we eſteemed, about three hundred leagues from the Ladrones, we met with a weſterly wind, which did not come about again to the eaſtward in four days time. This was a moſt diſpiriting incident, as it at once damped all our hopes of ſpeedy relief; eſpecially too, as it was attended with a vexatious accident to the Glouceſter; for in one part of theſe four days the wind flatted to a calm, and the ſhips rolled very deep; by which means the Glouceſter's fore-cap ſplitting, her fore top maſt came by the board, and broke her fore yard directly in the ſlings. As ſhe was hereby rendered incapable of making any ſail for ſome time, we were under a neceſſity, as ſoon as a gale ſprung up, to take her in tow; and near twenty of the healthieſt and ableſt of our ſeamen were removed from the duty of our own ſhip, and were continued eight or ten days together on board the Glouceſter, to aſſiſt in repairing her damages: but theſe things, mortifying as we thought them, were only the commencement of our diſaſter; for ſcarce had our people finiſhed their buſineſs in the Glouceſter, before

we met with a moſt violent ſtorm from the weſtern board, which obliged us to lie to. At the beginning of this ſtorm our ſhip ſprung a leak, and let in ſo much water, that all our people, officers included, were conſtantly employed about the pumps; and the next day we had the vexation to ſee the Glouceſter with her fore top maſt once more by the board; nor was that the whole of her calamity, ſince, while we were viewing her with great concern for this new diſtreſs, we ſaw her main top maſt, which had hitherto ſerved her as a jury main-maſt, ſhare the ſame fate. This completed our misfortunes, and rendered them without reſource; for we knew the Glouceſter's crew were ſo few and feeble, that, without our aſſiſtance, they could not be relieved; whilſt, at the ſame time, our ſick were now ſo far increaſed, and thoſe who remained in health ſo continually fatigued with the additional duty of our pumps, that it was impoſſible for us to lend them any aid. Indeed we were not as yet fully appriſed of the deplorable ſituation of the Glouceſter's crew; for when the ſtorm abated, which, during its continuance, prevented all communication with them, the Glouceſter bore up under our ſtern, and Captain Mitchell informed the Commodore, that beſides the loſs of his maſts, which was all that was viſible to us, the ſhip had then no leſs than ſeven feet of water in her hold, although his officers and men had been kept conſtantly at the pumps for the laſt twenty four hours.

This new circumſtance was indeed a moſt terrible accumulation to the other extraordinary diſtreſſes of the Glouceſter, and require, if poſſible, the moſt ſpeedy and vigorous aſſiſtance, which Captain Mitchell begged the Commodore to afford him; but the debility of our people, and our own immediate preſervation, rendered it impracticable for the Commodore to comply with this requeſt. All that could be done was to ſend our boat on board for a more particular account of the ſhip's condition, as it was ſoon ſuſpected that the taking of her people on board us, and then deſtroying her, was the only meaſure that could be proſecuted in the preſent emergency, both for the ſecurity of their lives and of our own.

Our boat ſoon returned with a repreſentation of the ſtate of the Glouceſter, and of her ſeveral defects, ſigned by

Captain Mitchell and all his officers; whence it appeared that ſhe had ſprung a leak by the ſtern-poſt being looſe, and working with every roll of the ſhip, and by two beams a-mid-ſhips being broken in the orlope, no part of which, as the carpenters reported, could poſſibly be repaired at ſea; that both officers and men had wrought twenty four hours at the pumps without intermiſſion, and were at length ſo fatigued, that they could continue their labour no longer, but had been forced to deſiſt, with ſeven feet of water in the hold, which covered all their caſks, ſo that they could neither come at freſh water nor proviſion; that they had no maſt ſtanding, except the fore-maſt, the mizen-maſt, and the mizen-top-maſt; nor had they any ſpare maſts to get up in the room of thoſe they had loſt: that the ſhip was beſides extremely decayed in every part; for her knees and clamps were all become quite looſe, and her upper works, in general, were ſo crazy, that the quarter deck was ready to drop down; that her crew were greatly reduced, as there remained alive on board her, officers included, no more than ſeventy ſeven men, eighteen boys, and two priſoners; and that of this whole number, only ſixteen men and eleven boys were capable of keeping deck, ſeveral of theſe too being very infirm.

The Commodore on the peruſal of this melancholy repreſentation, preſently ordered them a ſupply of water and proviſions, of which they ſeemed to be in the moſt preſſing want; and at the ſame time, ſent his own carpenter on board them, to examine into the truth of every particular; and it being found, on the ſtricteſt inquiry, that the preceding account was in no inſtance exaggerated, it plainly appeared, there was no poſſibility of preſerving the Glouceſter any longer, as her leaks were irreparable, and the united hands on board both ſhips would not be able to free her, could we have ſpared the whole of our crew to her relief. What then could be reſolved on, when it was the utmoſt we ourſelves could do to manage our own pumps? Indeed there was no room for deliberation; the only ſtep to be taken, was the ſaving the lives of the few that remained on board the Glouceſter, and the getting out of her as much as we could before ſhe was deſtroyed. The Commodore, therefore, immediately ſent an order to Captain Mitchell, to put his people on

board the Centurion as expeditiouſly as he could, now the weather was calm and favourable, and to take out ſuch ſtores as he could get at whilſt the ſhip could be kept above water. And as our leak required leſs attention, whilſt the preſent eaſy weather continued, we ſent our boats with as many men as we could ſpare, to Captain Mitchell's aſſiſtance.

The removing the Glouceſter's people on board us, and the getting out ſuch ſtores as could moſt eaſily be come at, gave us full employment for two days. Mr. Anſon was extremely deſirous to have ſaved two of her cables and an anchor; but the ſhip rolled ſo much, and the men were ſo exceſſively fatigued, that they were incapable of effecting it; nay, it was even with the greateſt difficulty that the prize money, which the Glouceſter had taken in the South Seas, was ſecured and ſent on board the Centurion. However, the prize goods in the Glouceſter, which amounted to ſeveral thouſand pounds in value, and were principally the Centurion's property, were entirely loſt; nor could any more proviſion be got out than five caſks of flour, three of which were ſpoiled by the ſalt water. Their ſick men amounting to near ſeventy, were conveyed into the boats with as much care as the circumſtances of that time would permit; but three or four of them expired as they were hoiſting them into the Centurion.

It was the 15th of Auguſt, in the evening, before the Glouceſter was cleared of every thing that was propoſed to be removed; and though the hold was now almoſt full of water, yet, as the carpenters were of opinion that ſhe might ſtill ſwim for ſome time, if the calm ſhould continue, and the water become ſmooth, it was reſolved ſhe ſhould be burnt, as we knew not how little diſtant we might be at the preſent from the Iſland of Guam, which was in the poſſeſſion of our enemies, to whom the wreck of ſuch a ſhip would be no contemptible acquiſition. When ſhe was ſet on fire, Captain Mitchell and his officers left her, and came on board the Centurion; and we immediately ſtood from the wreck, not without ſome apprehenſions (as we had only a light breeze) that if ſhe blew up ſoon, the concuſſion of the air might damage our rigging: but ſhe

fortunately continued burning the whole night, ſo that, though the guns fired ſucceſſively as the flames reached them, yet it was ſix in the morning, when we were about four leagues diſtant, before ſhe blew up. The report ſhe made upon this occaſion was but ſmall, although the blaſt produced an exceeding black pillar of ſmoke, which ſhot up into the air to a very conſiderable height.

Thus periſhed his Majeſty's ſhip the Glouceſter. And now, it might have been expected, that being freed from the embarraſſments which her frequent diſaſters had involved us in, we ſhould have proceeded on our way much briſker than we had hitherto done, eſpecially as we had received ſome ſmall addition to our ſtrength, by the taking on board the Glouceſter's crew. However we were ſoon taught, that our anxieties were not yet to be relieved: and that, notwithſtanding all we had already ſuffered, there remained much greater diſtreſſes, which we were ſtill to ſtruggle with. For the late ſtorm, which had proved ſo fatal to the Glouceſter, had driven us to the northward of our intended courſe; and the current ſetting the ſame way, after the weather abated, had forced us yet a degree or two farther, ſo that we were now in 17° ½ of north latitude, inſtead of being in 13° ½, which was the parallel we propoſed to keep, in order to reach the iſland of Guam. As it had been a perfect calm for ſome days ſince the ceſſation of the ſtorm, and we were ignorant how near we were to the meridian of the Ladrones, though we ſuppoſed ourſelves not to be far from it, we apprehended that we might be driven to the leeward of them by the current, without diſcovering them. On this ſuppoſition, the only land we could make would be ſome of the eaſtern parts of Aſia, where, if we could arrive, we ſhould find the weſtern monſoon in its full force, ſo that it would be impoſſible for the ſtouteſt beſt manned ſhip to get in. Beſides, this coaſt being between four and five hundred leagues diſtant from us, we in our languiſhing circumſtances could expect no other than to be deſtroyed by the ſcurvy, long before the moſt favourable gale could enable us to complete ſo extenſive a navigation. For our deaths were by this time extremely alarming, no day paſſing in which we did not bury eight or ten, and ſometimes twelve of our men; and thoſe who had as yet continued healthy,

began to fall down apace. Indeed we made the beſt uſe we could of our preſent calm, by employing our carpenters in ſearching after the leak, which, notwithſtanding the little wind we had, was now conſiderable. The carpenters at length diſcovered it to be in the gunner's foreſtore room, where the water ruſhed in under the breaſt hook, on each ſide of the ſtem; but though they found where it was, they agreed it was impoſſible to ſtop it, 'til they could come at it on the outſide; which was evidently a matter not to be attempted till we ſhould arrive in port. However, they did the beſt they could within board, and were fortunate enough to reduce it, which was a conſiderable relief to us.

We hitherto conſidered the calm, which ſucceeded the ſtorm, and which had now continued for ſome days, as a very great misfortune, ſince the currents were all the time driving us to the northward of our parallel, and we thereby riſked the miſſing of the Ladrones, which we at preſent conceived ourſelves to be very near. But when a gale ſprung up, our condition was ſtill worſe; for it blew from the S. W. and conſequently was directly oppoſed to the courſe we wanted to ſteer: and though it ſoon veered to the N. E. yet this ſerved only to tantalize us, as it returned back again in a ſhort time to its old quarter. However, on the 22d of Auguſt, we had the ſatisfaction to find, that the current was ſhifted, and had ſet us to the ſouthward. And the 23d, at day break, we were cheered with the diſcovery of two iſlands in the weſtern board. This gave us all great joy, and raiſed our drooping ſpirits; for till then an univerſal dejection had ſeized us, and we almoſt deſpaired of ever ſeeing land again. The neareſt of theſe iſlands, as we learned afterwards, was Anatacan; this we judged to be full fifteen leagues from us; it ſeemed to be high land, though of an indifferent length; the other was the iſland of Serigan, which had rather the appearance of a rock, than of a place we could hope to anchor at. The view of theſe iſlands is inſerted at the top of the thirty third plate. We were extremely impatient to get in with the neareſt iſland, where we expected to find an anchoring ground, and an opportunity of refreſhing our ſick; but the wind proved ſo variable all day, and there was ſo little of it, that we advanced towards

it but ſlowly; however, by the next morning, we were got ſo far to the weſtward, that we were in ſight of a third iſland, which was that of Paxaros, and which is marked in the chart only as a rock. This was very ſmall and the land low, ſo that we had paſſed within leſs than a mile of it in the night, without obſerving it. At noon, being then not four miles from the iſland of Anatacan, the boat was ſent away to examine the anchoring ground, and the produce of the place, and we were not a little ſolicitous for her return, as we conceived our fate to depend upon the report we ſhould receive; for the other two iſlands were obviouſly enough incapable of furniſhing us with any aſſiſtance, and we knew not that there were any beſides which we could reach. In the evening the boat came back, and the crew informed us, that there was no road for a ſhip to anchor in, the bottom being every where foul ground, and all, except one ſmall ſpot, not leſs than fifty fathom in depth; that on that ſpot, there was thirty fathom, though not above half a mile from the ſhore; and that the bank was ſteep too, and could not be depended on. They further told us, that they had landed on the iſland, not without ſome difficulty, on account of the greatneſs of the ſwell; that they found the ground was every where covered with a kind of wild cane or ruſh; but that they met with no water, and did not believe the place to be inhabited, though the ſoil was good, and abounded with groves of cocoa nut trees.

The account of the impoſſibility of anchoring at this iſland, occaſioned a general melancholy on board; for we conſidered it as little leſs than the prelude to our deſtruction; and our deſpondency was increaſed by a diſappointment we met with the ſucceeding night; when as we were plying under top-ſails, with an intention of getting nearer the iſland, and of ſending our boat on ſhore to load with cocoa nuts for the refreſhment of our ſick, the wind proved ſqually, and blew ſo ſtrong off ſhore, that we were driven too far to the ſouthward to venture to ſend off our boat. And now the only poſſible circumſtance that could ſecure the few which remained alive from periſhing, was the accidental falling in with ſome other of the Ladrone iſlands, better prepared for our accommodation; but as our knowledge of theſe iſlands was extremely imperfect,

we were to truſt entirely to chance for our guidance; only as they are all of them uſually laid down near the ſame meridian, and we conceived thoſe we had already ſeen to be part of them; we concluded to ſtand to the ſouthward, as the moſt probable means of diſcovering the reſt. Thus, with the moſt gloomy perſuaſion of our approaching deſtruction, we ſtood from the iſland of Anatacan, having all of us the ſtrongeſt apprehenſions (and thoſe not ill grounded) either of dying by the ſcurvy, or of being deſtroyed with the ſhip, which, for want of hands to work her pumps, might in a ſhort time be expected to founder.

## CHAP. II.

*Our Arrival at* Tinian, *and an Account of the Iſland, and of our Proceedings there, till the* Centurion *drove out to Sea.*

IT was the 26th of Auguſt 1742, in the morning, when we loſt ſight of the iſland of Anatacan, dreading that it was the laſt land we ſhould ever fix our eyes on. But the next morning we diſcovered three other iſlands to the eaſtward, which were between ten and fourteen leagues diſtant from us. Theſe were, as we afterwards learned, the iſlands of Saypan, Tinian and Aguigan. We immediately ſteered towards Tinian, which was the middlemoſt of the three; but we had ſo much of calms and light airs, that though we were helped forwards by the currents, yet on the morrow at day break, we had not advanced nearer than within five leagues of it. However we kept on our courſe, and about ten o'clock, we perceived a proa under ſail to the ſouthward, between Tinian and Aguigan. As we imagined from hence, that theſe iſlands were inhabited, and knew that the Spaniards had always a force at Guam, we took the neceſſary precautions for our own ſecurity, and endeavoured to prevent the enemy, as much as poſſible, from taking an advantage of our preſent wretched circumſtances, of which we feared they would be ſufficiently informed by the manner of our working the ſhip; we therefore muſtered all our hands who were capable of ſtanding to their arms, and loaded our upper and

quarter deck guns with grape ſhot; and that we might the more readily procure ſome intelligence of the ſtate of theſe iſlands, we ſhowed Spaniſh colours, and hoiſted a red flag at the fore-top maſt head, hoping thereby to give our ſhip the appearance of the Manila galeon, and to decoy ſome of the inhabitants on board us. Thus preparing ourſelves, and ſtanding towards the land, we were near enough at three in the afternoon, to ſend the cutter on ſhore to find out a proper birth for the ſhip; and we ſoon perceived that a proa put off from the iſland to meet the cutter, fully perſuaded, as we afterwards found, that we were the Manila ſhip. As we ſaw the cutter returning with the proa in tow, we inſtantly ſent the pinnace to receive the proa and the priſoners, and to bring them on board, that the cutter might proceed on her errand. The pinnace came back with a Spaniard and four Indians, which were the people taken in the proa; and the Spaniard being immediately examined as to the produce and circumſtances of this iſland of Tinian, his account of it ſurpaſſed even our moſt ſanguine hopes; for he informed us, that though it was uninhabited, (which in itſelf, conſidering our preſent defenceleſs condition, was a convenience not to be deſpiſed) yet it wanted but few of the accommodations that could be expected in the moſt cultivated country. In particular, he aſſured us, that there was plenty of very good water, and that there were an incredible number of cattle, hogs, and poultry, running wild on the iſland, all of them excellent in their kind; that the woods afforded ſweet and ſour oranges, limes, lemons, and cocoa nuts in great abundance, beſides a fruit peculiar to theſe iſlands, which ſerved inſtead of bread; that from the quantity and goodneſs of the proviſions produced here, the Spaniards at Guam made uſe of it as a ſtore for ſupplying the garriſon; and that he himſelf was a ſerjeant of that garriſon, who was ſent hither with twenty-two Indians to jerk beef, which he was to load for Guam on board a ſmall bark of about fifteen tons, which lay at anchor near the ſhore.

This relation was received by us with inexpreſſible joy; part of it we were ourſelves able to verify on the ſpot, as we were, by this time, near enough to diſcover ſeveral numerous herds of cattle feeding in different places of the

iſland; and we did not any wiſe doubt the reſt of his narration; ſince the appearance of the ſhore prejudiced us ſo greatly in its favour, and made us hope, that not only our neceſſities might be there fully relieved, and our diſeaſed recovered, but that amidſt thoſe pleaſing ſcenes which were then in view, we might procure ourſelves ſome amuſement and relaxation, after the numerous fatigues we had undergone. For the proſpect of the country did by no means reſemble that of an uninhabited and uncultivated place, but had much more the air of a magnificent plantation, where large lawns and ſtately woods had been laid out together with great ſkill, and where the whole had been ſo artfully combined, and ſo judiciouſly adapted to the ſlopes of the hills, and the inequalities of the ground, as to produce a moſt ſtriking effect, and to do honour to the invention of the contriver. Thus, (an event not unlike what we had already ſeen) we were forced upon the moſt deſirable and ſalutary meaſures, by accidents, which, at firſt ſight, we conſidered as the greateſt of misfortunes; for had we not been driven by the contrary winds and currents, to the northward of our courſe (a circumſtance which, at that time, gave us the moſt terrible apprehenſions) we ſhould, in all probability, never have arrived at this delightful iſland, and conſequently we ſhould have miſſed of that place, where alone all our wants could be moſt amply relieved, our ſick recovered, and our enfeebled crew once more refreſhed, and enabled to put again to ſea.

The Spaniſh ſerjeant, from whom we received the account of the iſland, having informed us that there were ſome Indians on ſhore under his command, employed in jerking beef, and that there was a bark at anchor to take it on board, we were deſirous, if poſſible, to prevent the Indians from eſcaping, ſince they would certainly have given the governor of Guam intelligence of our arrival; we therefore immediately diſpatched the pinnace to ſecure the bark, as the ſerjeant told us that was the only embarkation on the place; and then, about eight in the evening, we let go our anchor in twenty two fathom. But though it was almoſt calm, and whatever vigour and ſpirit was to be found on board, was doubtleſs exerted to the utmoſt on this pleaſing occaſion, when after having

kept the ſea for ſome months, we were going to take poſſeſſion of this little paradiſe, yet we were full five hours in furling our ſails. It is true, we were ſomewhat weakened by the crews of the cutter and pinnace which were ſent on ſhore; but it is not leſs true, that including thoſe abſent with the boats, and ſome negroes and Indian priſoners, all the hands we could muſter, capable of ſtanding at a gun, amounted to no more than ſeventy one, moſt of which, too, were incapable of duty, except on the greateſt emergencies. This, inconſiderable as it may appear, was the whole force we could collect, in our preſent enfeebled condition, from the united crews of the Centurion, the Glouceſter, and the Tryal, which, when we departed from England, conſiſted altogether, of near a thouſand hands.

When we had furled our ſails, our people were allowed to repoſe themſelves during the remainder of the night, to recover them from the fatigue they had undergone. But in the morning, a party was ſent on ſhore well armed, of which I myſelf was one, to make ourſelves maſters of the landing place, ſince we were not certain what oppoſition might be made by the Indians on the iſland. We landed, however, without difficulty; for the Indians having perceived by our ſeizure of the bark the night before, that we were enemies, they immediately fled into the woody parts of the iſland. We found on ſhore many huts which they had inhabited, and which ſaved us both the time and trouble of erecting tents. One of theſe huts which the Indians made uſe of for a ſtore houſe, was very large, being twenty yards long, and fifteen broad. This we immediately cleared of ſome bales of jerked beef, which had been left in it, and converted it into an hoſpital for our ſick, who, as ſoon as the place was ready to receive them, were brought on ſhore, being in all an hundred and twenty eight. Numbers of theſe were ſo very helpleſs, that we were obliged to carry them from the boats to the hoſpital upon our ſhoulders, in which humane employment (as before at Juan Fernandes) the Commodore himſelf, and every one of his officers, were engaged without diſtinction; and notwithſtanding the extreme debility, and the dying aſpects of the greateſt part of our ſick, it is almoſt incredible how ſoon they began to feel

the ſalutary influence of the land: for though we buried twenty one men, on this and the preceding day, yet we did not loſe above ten men more during the whole two months we ſtaid here; but our diſeaſed, in general, reaped ſo much benefit from the fruits of the iſland, particularly thoſe of the acid kind, that, in a week's time, there were but few of them who were not ſo far recovered as to be able to move about without help.

Being now, in ſome ſort, eſtabliſhed at this place, we were enabled more diſtinctly to examine its qualities and productions; and that the reader may the better judge of our manner of life here, and future navigators be better appriſed of the conveniences we met with, I ſhall, before I proceed any farther in the hiſtory of our own adventures, throw together the moſt intereſting particulars that came to our knowledge, relating to the ſituation, ſoil, produce, and accommodations of this iſland of Tinian.

This iſland lies in the latitude of 15°: 8′ north, and longitude from Acapulco, 114°: 50′ weſt; its length is about twelve miles, and its breadth about half as much, it extending from the S. S. W. to the N. N. E. The ſoil is every where dry and healthy, and being withal ſomewhat ſandy, it is there the leſs diſpoſed to a rank and over luxuriant vegetation; and hence the meadows and bottoms of the woods are much neater and ſmoother than is cuſtomary in hot climates. The land roſe in gentle ſlopes from the very beach where we watered, to the middle of the iſland, though the general courſe of its aſcent was often interrupted by valleys of an eaſy deſcent, many of which wind irregularly through the country. Theſe valleys, and the gradual ſwellings of the ground, which their different combinations give riſe to, were moſt beautifully diverſified by the mutual encroachments of woods and lawns which coaſted each other, and traverſed the iſland in large tracts. The woods conſiſted of tall and well ſpread trees, the greateſt part of them celebrated either for their aſpect or their fruit; whilſt the lawns were uſually of a conſiderable breadth, their turf quite clean and uniform, it being compoſed of a very fine trefoil, which was intermixed with a variety of flowers. The woods, too, were in many places open, and free from all buſhes and under-

wood, ſo that they terminated on the lawns with a well defined outline, where neither ſhrubs nor weeds were to be ſeen; but the neatneſs of the adjacent turf was frequently extended to a conſiderable diſtance, under the hollow ſhade formed by the trees. Hence aroſe a great number of the moſt elegant and entertaining proſpects, according to the different blendings of theſe woods and lawns, and their various interſections with each other, as they ſpread themſelves differently through the valleys, and over the ſlopes and declivities in which the place abounded. Nor were the allurements of Tinian confined to the excellency of its landſcapes only; ſince the fortunate animals which, during the greateſt part of the year, are the ſole lords of this happy ſoil, partake, in ſome meaſure, of the romantic taſt of the iſland, and are no ſmall addition to its wonderful ſcenery; for the cattle, of which it is not uncommon to ſee herds of ſome thouſands feeding together in a large meadow, are certainly the moſt remarkable in the world, as they are all of them milk white except their ears, which are generally brown or black. And though there are no inhabitants here, yet the clamour and frequent parading of domeſtic poultry, which range the woods in great numbers, perpetually excite the idea of the neighbourhood of farms and villages, and greatly contribute to the chearfulneſs and beauty of the place. The cattle on Tinian, we computed, were at leaſt ten thouſand: we had no difficulty in getting near them, for they were not at all ſhy of us. Our firſt method of killing them, was ſhooting them; but at laſt, when by accidents to be hereafter recited, we were obliged to huſband our ammunition, our men ran them down with eaſe. Their fleſh was extremely well taſted, and was believed, by us, to be much more eaſily digeſted than any we had ever met with. The fowls, too, were exceeding good, and were likewiſe run down with little trouble; for they could ſcarce fly further than an hundred yards at a flight, and even that fatigued them to ſuch a degree, that they could not readily riſe again; ſo that, aided by the openneſs of the woods, we could at all times furniſh ourſelves with whatever number we wanted. Beſides the cattle and the poultry, we found here abundance of wild hogs: theſe were moſt excellent food; but as they were a very fierce animal, we were obliged either to ſhoot them, or to hunt them with large dogs, which we

found upon the place at our landing, and which belonged to the detachment which was then upon the iſland, amaſſing proviſions for the garriſon of Guam. As theſe dogs had been purpoſely trained to the killing of the wild hogs, they followed us very readily, and hunted for us; but though they were a large bold breed, the hogs fought with ſo much fury, that they frequently deſtroyed them, whence we, by degrees, loſt the greateſt part of them.

This place was not only extremely grateful to us, from the plenty and excellency of its freſh proviſions, but was as much, perhaps, to be admired on account of its fruits and vegetable productions, which were moſt fortunately adapted to the cure of the ſea ſcurvy, the diſeaſe which had ſo terribly reduced us. For in the woods there were inconceivable quantities of cocoa nuts, with cabbages growing in the ſame tree. There were, beſides, guavoes, limes, ſweat and ſour oranges, and a kind of fruit peculiar to thoſe iſlands, called by the Indians Rhymay, but by us the bread fruit: for it was conſtantly eaten by us, during our ſtay upon the iſland, inſtead of bread, and ſo univerſally preferred to it, that no ſhips bread was expended in that whole interval. It grew upon a tree which is ſomewhat lofty, and which, towards the top, divides into large and ſpreading branches. The leaves of this tree are of a remarkable deep green, are notched about the edges, and are generally from a foot to eighteen inches in length. The fruit itſelf is found indifferently on all parts of the branches; it is in ſhape rather eliptical than round; it is covered with a rough rind, and is uſually ſeven or eight inches long; each of them grows ſingly and not in cluſters. This fruit is fitteſt to be uſed when it is full grown, but ſtill green; in which ſtate, after it is properly prepared, by being roaſted in the embers, its taſte has ſome diſtant reſemblance to that of an artichoke's bottom, and its texture is not very different, for it is ſoft and ſpongy. As it ripens, it becomes ſofter, and of a yellow colour, when it contracts a luſcious taſte, and an agreeable ſmell, not unlike a ripe peach; but then it is eſteemed unwholeſome, and is ſaid to produce fluxes. I ſhall only add, that it is deſcribed both by Dampier, and in Ray's hiſtory of plants: and that in the view of the watering place, plate XXXIV. there is drawn one of the trees bear-

ing this fruit, being that marked with the letter (*c*). Beſides the fruits already enumerated, there were many other vegetables extremely conducive to the cure of the malady we had long laboured under, ſuch as water melons, dandelion, creeping purſlain, mint, ſcurvy-graſs, and ſorrel; all which, together with the freſh meats of the place, we devoured with great eagerneſs, prompted thereto by the ſtrong inclination which, in ſcorbutic diſorders, nature never fails of exciting for thoſe powerful ſpecifics.

It will eaſily be conceived, from what hath been already ſaid, that our chear upon this iſland was in ſome degree luxurious; but I have not yet recited all the varieties of proviſion which we were indulged in. Indeed we thought it prudent totally to abſtain from fiſh, the few we caught at our firſt arrival having ſurfeited thoſe who ate of them; but conſidering how much we had been inured to that ſpecies of food, we did not regard this circumſtance as a diſadvantage; eſpecially as the defect was ſo amply ſupplied by the beef, pork, and fowls already mentioned, and by great plenty of wild fowl; for it is to be remembered, that near the centre of this iſland there were two conſiderable pieces of freſh water, which abounded with duck, teal, and curlew; not to mention the whiſtling plover, which we found there in prodigious plenty.

It may now, perhaps, be wondered at, that an iſland ſo exquiſitely furniſhed with the conveniences of life, and ſo well adapted not only to the ſubſiſtance, but likewiſe to the enjoyment of mankind, ſhould be entirely deſtitute of inhabitants, eſpecially as it is in the neighbourhood of other iſlands, which, in ſome meaſure, depended upon this for their ſupport. To obviate this difficulty, I muſt obſerve, that it is not fifty years ſince the iſland was depopulated. The Indians we had in our cuſtody aſſured us, that formerly the three iſlands of Tinian, Rota, and Guam, were all full of inhabitants, and that Tinian alone contained thirty thouſand ſouls; but a ſickneſs raging among theſe Indians, which deſtroyed multitudes of the people, the Spaniards, to recruit their numbers at Guam, which were extremely diminiſhed by the mortality, ordered all the inhabitants of Tinian thither, where, languiſhing for their former habitations, and their cuſtomary method of life,

the greateſt part of them, in a few years, died of grief. Indeed, independent of that attachment which all mankind have ever ſhown to the place of their birth and bringing up, it ſhould ſeem from what has been already ſaid, that there were few countries more worthy to be regretted than this of Tinian.

Theſe poor Indians might reaſonable have expected, at the great diſtance from Spain where they were placed, to have eſcaped the violence and cruelty of that haughty nation, ſo fatal to a large proportion of the whole human race; but it ſeems their remote ſituation could not protect them from ſharing in the common deſtruction of the weſtern world; all the advantage they received from their diſtance, being only to periſh an age or two later. It may, perhaps, be doubted, if the number of the inhabitants of Tinian, who were baniſhed to Guam, and who died there pining for their native home, was ſo conſiderable as what we have related above; but, not to mention the concurrent aſſertion of our priſoners, and the commodiouſneſs of the iſland, and its great fertility, there are ſtill remains to be met with on the place, which ſhow it to have been once extremely populous. For there are, in all parts of the iſland, many ruins of a very particular kind; theſe uſually conſiſt of two rows of ſquare pyramidal pillars, each pillar being about ſix feet from the next, and the diſtance between the rows being about twelve feet; the pillars themſelves are about five feet ſquare at the baſe, and about thirteen feet high; and on the top of each of them there is a ſemi globe, with the flat ſurface upwards; the whole of the pillars and ſemi globe is ſolid, being compoſed of ſand and ſtone cemented together, and plaiſtered over. This odd fabric will be better underſtood, by inſpecting the view of the watering place, already referred to; where an aſſemblage of theſe pillars is drawn, and is denoted by the letter (*a*). If the account our priſoners gave us of theſe ſtructures was true, the iſland muſt indeed have been moſt extraordinary well peopled; ſince they aſſured us, that they were the foundations of particular buildings ſet apart for thoſe Indians only who had engaged in ſome religious vow, monaſtic inſtitutions being often to be met with in many Pagan nations. However, if theſe ruins were originally the baſis of the common

dwelling houſes of the natives, their numbers muſt have been conſiderable; for in many parts of the iſland they are extremely thick planted, and ſufficiently evince the great plenty of its former inhabitants. But to return to the preſent ſtate of the iſland:

Having briefly recounted the conveniences of this place, the excellency and quantity of its fruits and proviſions, the neatneſs of its lawns, the ſtatelineſs, freſhneſs, and fragrance of its woods, the happy inequality of its ſurface, and the variety and elegance of the views it afforded, I muſt now obſerve, that all theſe advantages were greatly enhanced by the healthineſs of its climate, by the almoſt conſtant breezes which prevail there, and by the frequent ſhowers which fell there; for theſe, inſtead of the heavy continued rains which in ſome countries render great part of the year ſo unpleaſing, were uſually of a very ſhort and almoſt momentary duration. Hence they were extremely grateful and refreſhing, and were, perhaps, one cauſe of the ſalubrity of the air, and of the extraordinary influence it was obſerved to have upon us, in increaſing and invigorating our appetites and digeſtion. This effect was indeed remarkable, ſince thoſe among our officers, who were at all other times ſpare and temperate eaters, who, beſides a ſlight breakfaſt, uſed to make but one moderate repaſt a day, were here, in appearance, transformed into gluttons; for, inſtead of one reaſonable fleſh meal, they were now ſcarcely ſatisfied with three, each of them, too, ſo prodigious in quantity, as would, at another time, have produced a fever or a ſurfeit; and yet our digeſtion ſo well correſponded to the keenneſs of our appetites, that we were neither diſordered, nor even loaded by this uncommon repletion; for after having, according to the cuſtom of the iſland, made a large beef breakfaſt, it was not long before we began to conſider the approach of dinner as a very deſirable, though ſomewhat tardy incident.

After giving theſe large encomiums to this iſland, in which, however, I conceive, I have not done it juſtice, it is neceſſary I ſhould ſpeak of thoſe circumſtances in which it is defective, whether in point of beauty or utility. And, firſt, with reſpect to its water, I muſt own, that, before I had ſeen this ſpot, I did not conceive that the ab-

ſence of running water, of which it is entirely deſtitute, could have been ſo well replaced by any other means as it is in this iſland; ſince, though there are no ſtreams, yet the water of the wells and ſprings, which are to be met with every where near the ſurface, is extremely good; and in the midſt of the iſland there are two or three conſiderable pieces of excellent water, the turf of whoſe banks was as clean, as even, and as regularly diſpoſed, as if they had been baſons purpoſely made for the decoration of the place It muſt, however, be confeſſed, that with regard to the beauty of the proſpects, the want of rills and ſtreams is a very great defect, not to be compenſated either by large pieces of ſtanding water, or by the neighbourhood of the ſea, though that, from the ſmallneſs of the iſland, generally makes a part of every extenſive landſcape.

As to the reſidence upon the iſland, the principal inconvenience attending it, is the vaſt number of muſchetoes, and various other ſpecies of flies, together with an inſect called a tick; this, though principally attached to the cattle, would yet frequently faſten upon our limbs and bodies, and if not perceived and removed in time, would bury its head under the ſkin, and raiſe a painful inflammation. We found here too centipedes and ſcorpions, which we ſuppoſed were venomous, though none of us ever received any injury from them.

But the moſt important and formidable exception to this place remains ſtill to be told. This is the inconvenience of the road, and the little ſecurity there is, in ſome ſeaſons, for a ſhip at anchor. The only proper anchoring place, for ſhips of burden, is at the S. W. end of the iſland. As a direction for readily finding it, there is in the XXXV. plate, a very accurate view of the S. W. ſide of the iſland, where (*a*) is the peak of Saypan, ſeen over the northern part of Tinian, and bearing N. N. E $\frac{1}{2}$ E. and (*b*) is the anchoring place, diſtant eight miles from the obſerver. And, as an additional aſſiſtance, there is alſo added, in the XXXVI. plate, a near view of the anchoring place itſelf, which repreſents it ſo exactly, that none can poſſibly miſtake it Here the Centurion anchored in twenty two fathom water, about a mile and an

half diſtant from the ſhore, oppoſite to a ſandy bay. The bottom of this road is full of ſharp-pointed coral rocks, which, during four months of the year, that is, from the middle of June to the middle of October, render it a very unſafe anchorage. This is the ſeaſon of the weſtern monſoons, when near the full and change of the moon, but more particularly at the change, the wind is uſually variable all round the compaſs, and ſeldom fails to blow with ſuch fury, that the ſtouteſt cables are not to be confided in: what adds to the danger at theſe times, is the exceſſive rapidity of the tide of flood, which ſets to the S. E. between this iſland and that of Aguigan, a ſmall iſlet near the ſouthern extremity of Tinian, which is repreſented in the general chart, hereafter inſerted, only by a dot. This tide runs, at firſt, with a vaſt head and overfall of water, occaſioning ſuch a hollow and overgrown ſea, as is ſcarcely to be conceived; ſo that (as will be more particularly recited in the ſequel) we were under the moſt dreadful apprehenſions of being pooped by it, though we were in a ſixty gun ſhip. In the remaining eight months of the year, that is, from the middle of October to the middle of June, there is a conſtant ſeaſon of ſettled weather; when, if the cables are but well armed, there is ſcarcely any danger of there being even rubbed; ſo that, during all that interval, it is as ſecure a road as could be wiſhed for. I ſhall only add, that the anchoring bank is very ſhelving, and ſtretches along the S. W. end of the iſland, and is entirely free from ſhoals, except a reef of rocks which is viſible, and lies about half a mile from the ſhore, affording a narrow paſſage into a ſmall ſandy bay, which is the only place where boats can poſſibly land. Having given this account of the iſland and its produce, it is neceſſary to return to our own hiſtory.

Our firſt undertaking after our arrival, was the removal of our ſick on ſhore, as hath been related. Whilſt we were thus employed, four of the Indians on the iſland, being part of the Spaniſh ſerjeant's detachment, came and ſurrendered themſelves to us, ſo that, with thoſe we took in the proa, we had now eight of them in our cuſtody. One of the four who ſubmitted, undertook to ſhew us the moſt convenient places for killing cattle, and two of our men were ordered to attend him on that ſervice; but one of

them unwarily truſting the Indian with his firelock and piſtol, the Indian eſcaped with them into the woods. His countrymen who remained behind were apprehenſive of ſuffering for this perfidy of their comrade; and therefore begged leave to ſend one of their own party into the country, who they engaged ſhould both bring back the arms, and perſuade the whole detachment from Guam to ſubmit to us. The Commodore granted their requeſt, and one of them was diſpatched on this errand, who returned next day, and brought back the firelock and piſtol, but aſſured us he had found them in a path way in the wood, and proteſted, that he had not been able to meet with any one of his countrymen. This report had ſo little the air of truth, that we ſuſpected there was ſome treachery carrying on; and therefore, to prevent any future communication amongſt them, we immediately ordered all the Indians who were in our power, on board the ſhip, and did not permit them to go any more on ſhore.

When our ſick were well ſettled on the iſland, we employed all the hands that could be ſpared from attending them, in arming the cables with a good rounding, ſeveral fathom from the anchor, to ſecure them from being rubbed by the coral-rocks, which here abounded. This being completed, our next occupation was our leak, and, in order to raiſe it out of the water, we, on the firſt of September, began to get the guns aft, to bring the ſhip by the ſtern; and now the carpenters being able to come at it on the outſide, they ripped off what was left of the old ſheathing, caulked all the ſeams on both ſides the cutwater, and leaded them over, and then new ſheathed the bows to the ſurface of the water. By this means we conceived the defect was ſufficiently ſecured; but, upon our beginning to return the guns to their ports, we had the mortification to perceive, that the water ruſhed into the ſhip in the old place, with as much violence as ever. Hereupon we were neceſſitated to begin again: and that our ſecond attempt might be more ſucceſsful, we cleared the foreſtore room, and ſet an hundred and thirty barrels of powder on board the ſmall Spaniſh bark we had ſeized here, by which means we raiſed the ſhip about three feet out of the water forewards. The carpenters now ripped off the ſheathing lower down, new caulked all the ſeams, and af-

terwards laid on new ſheathing; and then, ſuppoſing the leak to be effectually ſtopped, we began to move the guns forwards; but the upper-deck guns were ſcarcely replaced, when, to our amazement, it burſt out again. As we durſt not cut away the lining within board, leſt a butt-end or a plank might ſtart, and we might go down immediately, we had no other reſource left than chincing and caulking within board. Indeed, by this means the leak was ſtopped for ſome time; but when our guns were all fixed in the ports, and our ſtores were taken on board, the water again forced its way through a hole in the ſtem, where one of the bolts was driven in: we, on this, deſiſted from all farther efforts, being at laſt well aſſured that the defect was in the ſtem itſelf, and that it was not to be remedied till we had an opportunity of heaving down.

In the firſt part of the month of September, ſeveral of our ſick were tolerably recovered by their reſidence on ſhore; and, on the 12th of September, all thoſe who were ſo far relieved, ſince their arrival, as to be capable of doing duty, were ſent on board the ſhip; and then the Commodore, who was himſelf ill of the ſcurvy, had a tent erected for him on ſhore, where he went with the view of ſtaying a few days to eſtabliſh his health, being convinced, by the general experience of his people, that no other method, but living on the land, was to be truſted to for the removal of this dreadful malady. The place where his tent was pitched on this occaſion, was near the well whence we got all our water, and was indeed a moſt elegant ſpot. A view of it hath been already referred to, under the title of the watering place, where (*b*) is the Commodore's tent, and (*d*) the well we watered at.

As the crew on board were now reinforced by the recovered hands returned from the iſland, we began to ſend our caſks on ſhore to be fitted up, which, till this time, could not be done, for the coopers were not well enough to work. We likewiſe weighed our anchors, that we might examine our cables, which, we ſuſpected, had, by this time, received conſiderable damage. And as the new moon was now approaching, when we apprehended violent gales, the Commodore, for our greater ſecurity, ordered that part of the cables next to the anchors to be armed

with the chains of the fire grapnels; beſides which, they were cackled twenty fathom from the anchors, and ſeven fathom from the ſervice, with a good rounding of a 4½ inch hauſer; and, being perſuaded that the dangers of this road demanded our utmoſt foreſight, we, to all theſe precautions, added that of lowering the main and fore-yards cloſe down, that in caſe of blowing weather the wind might have leſs power upon the ſhip to make her ride a ſtrain.

Thus effectually prepared, as we conceived, we waited till the new moon, which was the 18th of September, when, riding ſafe that and the three ſucceeding days, (though the weather proved very ſqually and uncertain) we flattered ourſelves (for I was then on board) that the prudence of our meaſures had ſecured us from all accidents; but, on the 22d, the wind blew from the eaſtward with ſuch fury, that we ſoon deſpaired of riding out the ſtorm. In this conjuncture we ſhould have been extremely glad that the Commodore, and the reſt of our people on ſhore, which were the greateſt part of our hands, had been on board us, ſince our only hopes of ſafety ſeemed to depend on our putting immediately to ſea; but all communication with the ſhore was now abſolutely cut off, for there was no poſſibility that a boat could live; ſo that we were neceſſitated to ride it out till our cables parted. Indeed, we were not long expecting this dreadful event, for the ſmall bower parted at five in the afternoon, and the ſhip ſwung off to the beſt bower; and as the night came on, the violence of the wind ſtill increaſed; though, notwithſtanding its inexpreſſible fury, the tide ran with ſo much rapidity as to prevail over it; for the tide, which was to the northward at the beginning of the hurricane, turning ſuddenly to the ſouthward, about ſix in the evening, forced the ſhip before it, in deſpight of the ſtorm, which blew upon the beam. The ſea now broke moſt ſurpriſingly all round us, and a large tumbling ſwell threatened to poop us; by which the long boat, at this time moored a ſtern, was on a ſudden canted ſo high, that it broke the tranſon of the Commodore's gallery, whoſe cabin was on the quarter deck, and would doubtleſs have riſen as high as the tafferel, had it not been for the ſtroke which ſtove the boat all to pieces; and yet the poor boat-

keeper, though extremely bruiſed, was ſaved almoſt by a miracle. About eight, the tide ſlackened, but the wind not abating, the beſt bower cable, by which alone we rode, parted at eleven. Our ſheet-anchor, which was the only one we had left, was inſtantly cut from the bow; but before it could reach the bottom, we were driven from twenty-two into thirty five fathom; and after we had veered away one whole cable, and two thirds of another, we could not find ground with ſixty fathom of line. This was a plain indication, that the anchor lay near the edge of the bank, and could not hold us long. In this preſſing danger, Mr. Saumarez, our firſt lieutenant, who now commanded on board, ordered ſeveral guns to be fired, and lights to be ſhown, as a ſignal to the Commodore of our diſtreſs; and, in a ſhort time after, it being then about one o'clock, and the night exceſſively dark, a ſtrong guſt, attended with rain and lightening, drove us off the bank, and forced us out to ſea, leaving behind us on the iſland, Mr. Anſon, with many more of our officers, and a great part of our crew, amounting, in the whole, to an hundred and thirteen perſons. Thus were we all, both at ſea, and on ſhore, reduced to the utmoſt deſpair by this cataſtrophe; thoſe on ſhore conceived they had no means left them ever to depart out of the iſland, whilſt we on board being utterly unprepared to ſtruggle with the fury of the ſeas and winds, we were now expoſed to, expected each moment to be our laſt.

## CHAP. III.

### *Tranſactions at* TINIAN *after the Departure of the* CENTURION.

THE ſtorm which drove the Centurion to ſea, blew with too much turbulence to permit either the Commodore, or any of the people on ſhore, to hear the guns which ſhe fired as ſignals of diſtreſs; and the frequent glare of the lightning had prevented the exploſions from being obſerved: ſo that, when at day break it was perceived from the ſhore, that the ſhip was amiſſing, there was the utmoſt conſternation amongſt them: for much the greateſt part of them immediately concluded that ſhe

was loſt, and intreated the Commodore that the boat might be ſent round the iſland to look after the wreck; and thoſe who believed her ſafe, had ſcarcely an expectation that ſhe would ever be able to make the iſland again, ſince the wind continued to blow ſtrong at eaſt, and they well knew how poorly ſhe was manned and provided for ſtruggling with ſo tempeſtuous a gale: in either of theſe views, her ſituation was indeed moſt deplorable; for if the Centurion was loſt, or ſhould be incapable of returning, there appeared no poſſibility of their ever getting off the iſland, as they were at leaſt ſix hundred leagues from Macao, which was their neareſt port; and they were maſters of no other veſſel than the ſmall Spaniſh bark of about fifteen tons, ſeized at their arrival, which would not even hold a fourth part of their number. And the chance of their being taken off the iſland by the caſual arrival of any other ſhip, was altogether deſperate; as perhaps no European ſhip had ever anchored here before, and it were madneſs to expect that like incidents ſhould ſend another here in an hundred ages to come: ſo that their deſponding thoughts could only ſuggeſt to them the melancholy proſpect of ſpending the remainder of their days on this iſland, and bidding adieu for ever to their country, their friends, their families, and all their domeſtic endearments.

Nor was this the worſt they had to fear: for they had reaſon to apprehend, that the governor of Guam, when he ſhould be informed of their circumſtances, might ſend a force ſufficient to over power them, and to remove them to that iſland; and then the moſt favourable treatment they could expect would be, to be detained priſoners during life; ſince, from the known policy and cruelty of the Spaniards in their diſtant ſettlements, it was rather to be ſuppoſed that the governor, if he once had them in his power, would make their want of commiſſions (all of them being on board the Centurion) a pretext for treating them as pirates, and for depriving them of their lives with infamy.

In the midſt of theſe gloomy reflections, Mr. Anſon, though he always kept up his uſual compoſure and ſteadineſs, had doubtleſs his ſhare of diſquietude. However, having ſoon projected a ſcheme for extricating himſelf and his men from their preſent anxious ſituation, he firſt com-

municated it to ſome of the moſt intelligent perſons about him; and having ſatisfied himſelf that it was practicable, he then endeavoured to animate his people to a ſteady and vigorous proſecution of it. With this view he repreſented to them, how little foundation there was for their apprehenſions of the Centurion being loſt: that he ſhould have preſumed they had been all of them better acquainted with ſea affairs, than to give way to the impreſſion of ſo chimerical a fright: that he doubted not but, if they would ſeriouſly conſider what ſuch a ſhip was capable of enduring, they would confeſs there was not the leaſt probability of her having periſhed; that he was not without hopes that ſhe might return in a few days; but if ſhe did not, the worſt that could be imagined was, that ſhe was driven ſo far to the leeward of the iſland, that ſhe could not regain it, and that ſhe would conſequently be obliged to bear away for Macao on the coaſt of China; that as it was neceſſary to be prepared againſt all events, he had in this caſe conſidered of a method of carrying them off the iſland, and of joining their old ſhip, the Centurion, again at Macao: that this method was, to hale the Spaniſh bark on ſhore, to ſaw her aſunder, and to lengthen her twelve feet, which would enlarge her to near forty ton burden, and would enable her to carry them all to China: that he had conſulted the carpenters, and they had agreed that this propoſal was very feaſible, and that nothing was wanting to execute it but the united reſolution and induſtry of the whole body: and having added, that, for his own part, he would ſhare the fatigue and labour with them, and would expect no more from any man than what he, the Commodore himſelf, was ready to ſubmit to, he concluded with repreſenting the importance of ſaving time; urging that, in order to be the better ſecured at all events, it was expedient to ſet about the work immediately, and to take it for granted that the Centurion would not be able to put back (which was indeed the Commodore's ſecret opinion) ſince, if ſhe did return, they ſhould only throw away a few days application; but if ſhe did not, their ſituation, and the ſeaſon of the year, required their utmoſt diſpatch.

Theſe remonſtrances, though not without effect, did not at firſt operate ſo powerfully as Mr. Anſon could have wiſhed; he indeed raiſed their ſpirits, by ſhowing them the

poſſibility of their getting away, of which they had before deſpaired; but then from their confidence in this reſource, they grew leſs apprehenſive of their ſituation, gave a greater ſcope to their hopes, and flattered themſelves that the Centurion would be able to regain the iſland, and prevent the execution of the Commodore's ſcheme; which they could eaſily foreſee would be a work of conſiderable labour: hence it was ſome days before they were all of them heartily engaged in the project; but at laſt being convinced of the impoſſibility of the ſhip's return, they betook themſelves zealouſly to the different taſks alloted them, and were as induſtrious and as eager as their commander could deſire, punctually aſſembling by day break at the rendezvous, whence they were diſtributed to their different employments, which they followed with unuſual vigour till night came on.

And here I muſt interrupt the courſe of this tranſaction, to relate an incident, which for a ſhort time gave Mr. Anſon more concern than all the preceding diſaſters. A few days after the ſhip was driven off, ſome of the people on ſhore cried out, *A ſail!* This ſpread a general joy, every one ſuppoſing that it was the ſhip returning; but preſently a ſecond ſail was deſcried, which quite deſtroyed their firſt conjecture, and made it difficult to gueſs what they were. The Commodore eagerly turned his glaſs towards them, and ſaw they were two boats; on which it immediately occurred to him, that the Centurion was gone to the bottom, and that theſe were her two boats coming back with the remains of her people; and this ſudden and unexpected ſuggeſtion wrought on him ſo powerfully, that to conceal his emotion, he was obliged (without ſpeaking to any one) inſtantly to retire to his tent, where he paſſed ſome bitter moments, in the firm belief that the ſhip was loſt, and that now all his views of farther diſtreſſing the enemy, and of ſtill ſignalizing his expedition by ſome important exploit, were at an end.

However, he was ſoon relieved from theſe diſturbing thoughts, by diſcovering that the two boats in the offing were Indian proas; and perceiving that they made towards the ſhore, he directed every appearance that could give them any ſuſpicion, to be removed, concealing his

people in the adjacent thickets, ready to ſecure the Indians when they ſhould land; but after the proas had ſtood in within a quarter of a mile of the beach, they ſuddenly ſtopped ſhort, and remaining there motionleſs for near two hours, they then got under ſail again, and ſteered to the ſouthward. Let us now return to the projected enlargement of the bark.

If we examine how they were prepared for going through with this undertaking, on which their ſafety depended, we ſhall find, that independent of other matters which were of as much conſequence, the lengthening of the bark alone was attended with great difficulty. Indeed, in a proper place, where all the neceſſary materials and tools were to be had, the embarraſsment would have been much leſs; but ſome of theſe tools were to be made, and many of the materials were wanting; and it required no ſmall degree of invention to ſupply all theſe deficiences. And when the hull of the bark ſhould be completed, this was but one article; and there were others of equal weight, which were to be well conſidered; theſe were the rigging it, the victualling it, and laſtly, the navigating it, for the ſpace of ſix or ſeven hundred leagues, through unknown ſeas, where no one of the company had ever paſſed before; and in theſe particulars ſuch obſtacles occurred, that without the intervention of very extraordinary and unexpected accidents, the poſſibility of the whole enterpriſe would have fallen to the ground, and their utmoſt efforts and induſtry muſt have been fruitleſs. Of all theſe circumſtances, I ſhall make a ſhort recital.

It fortunately happened that the carpenters, both of the Glouceſter and of the Tryal, with their cheſts of tools, were on ſhore when the ſhip drove out to ſea; the ſmith too was on ſhore, and had with him his forge and ſeveral of his tools; but unhappily his bellows had not been brought from on board; ſo that he was incapable of working, and without his aſſiſtance they could not hope to proceed with their deſign. Their firſt attention therefore was to make him a pair of bellows, but in this they were for ſome time puzzled by their want of leather; however, as they had hides in ſufficient plenty, and they had found a hogſhead of lime, which the Indians or Spaniards had prepared for

their own uſe, they tanned a few hides with this lime; and though we may ſuppoſe the workmanſhip to be but indifferent, yet the leather they thus procured anſwered the intention tolerably well, and the bellows, to which a gun barrel ſerved for a pipe, had no other inconvenience, than that of being ſomewhat ſtrong ſcented from the imperfection of the tanner's work.

Whilſt the ſmith was preparing the neceſſary iron work, others were employed in cutting down trees, and ſawing them into planks: and this being the moſt laborious taſk, the Commodore wrought at it himſelf, for the encouragement of his people. But there being neither blocks nor cordage ſufficient for tackles to haul the bark on ſhore, this occaſioned a new difficulty; however, it was at length reſolved to get her upon rollers, ſince for theſe, the body of the cocoa nut tree was extremely well fitted, as its ſmoothneſs and circular turn prevented much labour, and ſuited it to the purpoſe with very little workmanſhip. A number of theſe trees were therefore felled, and the ends of them properly opened for the inſertion of handſpikes; and in the mean time, a dry dock was dug to receive the bark, and ways were laid from thence quite into the ſea, to facilitate the bringing her up. Neither were theſe the whole of their occupations, ſince, beſides thoſe who were thus buſied in preparing meaſures towards the future enlargement of the bark, a party was conſtantly ordered to kill and provide proviſions for the reſt. And though, in theſe various employments, ſome of which demanded conſiderable dexterity, it might have been expected there would have been great confuſion and delay, yet good order being once eſtabliſhed, and all hands engaged, their preparations advanced a-pace. Indeed the common men, I preſume, were not the leſs tractable for their want of ſpirituous liquors: for there being neither wine nor brandy on ſhore, the juice of the cocoa nut was their conſtant drink: and this, tho' extremely pleaſant, was not at all intoxicating, but kept them very temperate and orderly.

The main work now proceeding ſucceſsfully, the officers began to conſider of all the articles which would be neceſſary to the fitting out the bark for the ſea. On this conſultation it was found, that the tents on ſhore, and the

ſpare cordage accidently left there by the Centurion, together with the ſails and rigging already belonging to the bark, would ſerve to rig her indifferently well when ſhe was lengthened. And as they had tallow in plenty, they propoſed to pay her bottom with a mixture of tallow and lime, which it was known was not ill adapted to that purpoſe; ſo that with reſpect to their equipment, ſhe would not have been very defective. There was, however, one exception, which would have proved extremely inconvenient, and that was her ſize: for as they could not make her quite forty tons burden, ſhe would have been incapable of containing half the crew below the deck, and ſhe would have been ſo top heavy, that if they were all at the ſame time ordered upon deck, there would be no ſmall hazard of her overſetting; but this was a difficulty not to be removed, as they could not augment her beyond the ſize already propoſed. After the manner of rigging and fitting up the bark was conſidered and regulated, the next eſſential point to be thought on, was how to procure a ſufficient ſtock of proviſions for their voyage; and here they were greatly at a loſs what expedient to have recourſe to, as they had neither grain nor bread of any kind on ſhore, their bread fruit, which would not keep at ſea, having all along ſupplied its place; and though they had live cattle enough, yet they had no ſalt to cure beef for a ſea ſtore, nor would meat take ſalt in that climate. Indeed they had preſerved a ſmall quantity of jerked beef, which they found upon the place at their landing; but this was greatly diſproportioned to the run of near ſix hundred leagues, which they were to engage in, and to the number of hands they ſhould have on board. It was at laſt, however, reſolved, to put on board as many cocoa nuts as they poſſibly could, to prolong to the utmoſt their jerked beef, by a very ſparing diſtribution of it, and to endeavour to ſupply their want of bread by rice; to furniſh themſelves with which, it was propoſed, when the bark was fitted up, to make an expedition to the iſland of Rota, where they were told that the Spaniards had large plantations of rice under the care of the Indian inhabitants; but as this laſt meaſure was to be executed by force, it became neceſſary to examine what ammunition had been left on ſhore, and to preſerve it carefully; and on this inquiry, they had the mortification to find, that their fire locks would be of little

ſervice to them, ſince all the powder that could be collected by the ſtricteſt ſearch, did not amount to more than ninety charges, which was conſiderably ſhort of one a piece to each of the company, and was indeed a very ſlender ſtock of ammunition for ſuch as were to eat no grain or bread during a whole month, except what they were to procure by force of arms.

But the moſt alarming circumſtance, and which, without the providential interpoſition of very improbable events, would have rendered all their ſchemes abortive, remains yet to be related. The general idea of the fabric and equipment of the veſſel was ſettled in a few days: and this being done, it was not difficult to frame ſome eſtimation of the time neceſſary to complete her. After this, it was natural to expect that the officers would conſider the courſe they were to ſteer, and the land they were to make. Theſe reflections led them to the diſheartening diſcovery that there was neither compaſs nor quadrant on the iſland. Indeed the Commodore had brought a pocket compaſs on ſhore for his own uſe; but Lieutenant Brett had borrowed it to determine the poſition of the neighbouring iſlands, and he had been driven to ſea in the Centurion without returning it. And as to a quadrant, that could not be expected to be found on ſhore, ſince, as it was of no uſe at land, there could be no reaſon for bringing it from on board the ſhip. There were now eight days elapſed ſince the departure of the Centurion, and yet they were not in any degree relieved from this terrible perplexity; at laſt, in rummaging a cheſt belonging to the Spaniſh bark, they diſcovered a ſmall compaſs, which though little better than the toys uſually made for the amuſement of ſchool boys, was to them an invaluable treaſure. And a few days after, by a ſimilar piece of good fortune, they met with a quadrant on the ſea-ſhore, which had been thrown over board amongſt other lumber belonging to the dead. The quadrant was eagerly ſeized; but on examination, it unluckily wanted vanes, and therefore, in its preſent ſtate, was altogether uſeleſs; however, fortune ſtill continuing in a favourable mood, it was not long before a perſon, through curioſity, pulling out the drawer of an old table which had been driven on ſhore, found therein ſome vanes, which fitted the quadrant very

well; and it being thus completed, it was examined by the known latitude of the place, and, upon trial, anſwered to a ſufficient degree of exactneſs.

When now all theſe obſtacles were, in ſome degree, removed (which were always as much as poſſible concealed from the vulgar, that they might not grow remiſs with the apprehenſion of labouring to no purpoſe) the buſineſs proceeded very ſucceſsfully and vigorouſly: the neceſſary iron work was in great forwardneſs, and the timbers and planks (which, though not the moſt exquiſite performance of the ſawers art, were yet ſufficient for the purpoſe) were all prepared; ſo that, on the 6th of October, being the 14th day from the departure of the ſhip, they hauled the bark on ſhore, and on the two ſucceeding days, ſhe was ſawn aſunder, though with the caution not to cut her planks: and her two parts being ſeparated, the proper diſtances from each other, and the materials being all ready before hand, they the next day, being the 9th of October, went on with no ſmall diſpatch in their propoſed enlargement of her: whence, by this time, they had all their future operations ſo fairly in view, and were ſo much maſters of them, that they were able to determine when the whole would be finiſhed, and had accordingly fixed the 5th of November for the day of their putting to ſea. But their projects and labours were now drawing to a ſpeedier and happier concluſion; for on the 11th of October, in the afternoon, one of the Glouceſter's men, being upon a hill in the middle of the iſland, perceived the Centurion at a diſtance, and running down with his utmoſt ſpeed towards the landing place, he, in the way, ſaw ſome of his comrades, to whom he hallowed out with great exſtaſy, The ſhip, The ſhip! This being heard by Mr. Gordon, a lieutenant of marines, who was convinced by the fellow's tranſport, that his report was true, Mr. Gordon directly haſtened towards the place where the Commodore and his people were at work, and being freſh and in breath, eaſily out-ſtripped the Glouceſter's man, and got before him to the Commodore, who, on hearing this pleaſing and unexpected news, threw down his ax, with which he was then at work, and by his joy broke through, for the firſt time, the equable and unvaried character which he had hitherto preſerved; whilſt the others, who were preſent, inſtantly

ran down to the sea side, in a kind of frenzy, eager to feast themselves with a sight they had so ardently longed after, and of which they had now for a considerable time despaired. By five in the evening, the Centurion was visible in the offing to them all; and a boat being sent off with eighteen men to reinforce her, and with fresh meat and fruits for the refreshment of her crew, she, the next afternoon, happily cast anchor in the road, where the Commodore immediately came on board her, and was received by us with the sincerest and heartiest acclamations; for, by the following short recital of the fears, the dangers and fatigues, we underwent in the ship, during our nineteen days absence from Tinian. it may easily be conceived, that a harbour, refreshments, repose, and the joining of our commander and ship mates, were not less pleasing to us, than our return was to them.

## CHAP. IV.

*Proceedings on Board the* CENTURION *when driven out to Sea.*

THE Centurion being now once more safely arrived at Tinian, to the mutual respite of the labours of our divided crew, it is high time the reader, after the relation already given of the projects and employment of those left on shore, should be apprised of the fatigues and distresses to which we, whom the Centurion carried off to sea, were exposed, during the long interval of nineteen days that we were absent from the island.

It has been already mentioned, that it was the 22d of September, about one o'clock, in an extreme dark night, when, by the united violence of a prodigious storm, and an exceeding rapid tide, we were driven from our anchors, and forced to sea. Our condition then was truly deplorable; we were in a leaky ship, with three cables in our hawses, to one of which hung our only remaining anchor: we had not a gun on board lashed, nor a port barred in; our shrouds were loose, and our top masts unrigged; and we had struck our fore and main yards close down before the hurricane came on; so that there were no sails we could set, except our mizen. In this dreadful extremity

we could muſter no more ſtrength on board, to navigate the ſhip, than an hundred and eight hands, ſeveral negroes and Indians included. This was ſcarcely the fourth part of our complement; and of theſe the greater number were either boys, or ſuch as, being but lately recovered from the ſcurvy, had not yet arrived at half their former vigour. No ſooner were we at ſea, but, by the violence of the ſtorm, and the working of the ſhip, we made a great quantity of water through our hawſeholes, ports, and ſcuppers, which, added to the conſtant effect of our leak, rendered our pumps alone a ſufficient employment for us all. But though we knew that this leakage, by being a ſhort time neglected, would inevitably end in our deſtruction; yet we had other dangers then hanging over us, which occaſioned this to be regarded as a ſecondary conſideration only. For we all imagined that we were driven directly on the neighbouring iſland of Aguigan, which was about two leagues diſtant; and as we had lowered our main and fore yards cloſe down, we had no ſails we could ſet but the mizen, which was altogether inſufficient to carry us clear off this imminent peril. Urged, therefore, by this preſſing emergency, we immediately applied ourſelves to work, endeavouring, with the utmoſt of our efforts, to heave up the main and fore yards, in hopes that, if we could but be enabled to make uſe of our lower canvaſs, we might poſſibly weather the iſland, and thereby ſave ourſelves from this impending ſhipwreck. But, after full three hours ineffectual labour, the jeers broke, and the men being quite jaded, we were obliged, by mere debility, to deſiſt, and quietly to expect our fate, which we then conceived to be unavoidable. For we ſoon eſteemed ourſelves to be driven juſt upon the ſhore, and the night was ſo extremely dark, that we expected to diſcover the iſland no otherwiſe than by ſtriking upon it; ſo that the belief of our deſtruction, and the uncertainty of the point of time when it would take place, occaſioned us to paſs ſeveral hours under the moſt ſerious apprehenſions that each ſucceeding moment would ſend us to the bottom. Nor did theſe continued terrors, of inſtantly ſtriking and ſinking, end but with the day break, when we, with great tranſport, perceived, that the iſland we had thus dreaded was at a conſiderable diſtance, and that a ſtrong northern current had been the cauſe of our preſervation.

The turbulent weather which forced us from Tinian, did not abate till three days after, and then we ſwayed up the fore-yard, and began to heave up the main-yard; but the jeers broke again, and killed one of our people, and prevented us, at that time, from proceeding. The next day, being the 26th of September, was a day of moſt ſevere fatigue to us all; for it muſt be remembered, that in theſe exigencies, no rank or office exempted any perſon from the manual application and bodily labour of a common ſailor. The buſineſs of this day was no leſs than an endeavour to heave up the ſheet-anchor, which we had hitherto dragged at our bows with two cables an end. This was a work of great importance to our future preſervation. For, not to mention the impediment it would be to our navigation, and hazard to our ſhip, if we attempted to make ſail with the anchor in its preſent ſituation, we had this moſt intereſting conſideration to animate us, that it was the only anchor we had left, and, without ſecuring it, we ſhould be under the utmoſt difficulties and hazards whenever we fell in with the land again; and therefore, being all of us fully appriſed of the conſequence of this enterprize, we laboured at it with the ſevereſt application for full twelve hours, when we had indeed made a conſiderable progreſs, having brought the anchor in ſight; but it growing dark, and we being exceſſively fatigued, we were obliged to deſiſt, and to leave our work unfiniſhed till the next morning, and then, refreſhed by the benefit of a night's reſt, we completed it, and hung the anchor at our bow.

It was the 27th of September, that is, five days after our departure, before we had thus ſecured our anchor: however, we, the ſame day, got up our main-yard; ſo that having now conquered, in ſome degree, the diſtreſs and diſorder which we were neceſſarily involved in at our firſt driving out to ſea, and being enabled to make uſe of our canvaſs, we ſet our courſes, and, for the firſt time, ſtood to the eaſtward, in hopes of regaining the iſland of Tinian, and joining our Commodore in a few days, ſince, by our accounts, we were only forty-ſeven leagues diſtant to the ſouth-weſt. Hence, on the 1ſt of October, having then run the diſtance neceſſary for making the iſland, according to our reckoning, we were in full expectation of

ſeeing it; but here we were unhappily diſappointed, and were thereby convinced that a current had driven us conſiderably to the weſtward. This diſcovery threw us into a new perplexity; for as we could not judge how much we might hereby have deviated, and conſequently how long we might ſtill expect to be at ſea, we had great apprehenſions that our ſtock of water would prove deficient, ſince we were doubtful about the quantity we had on board, finding many of our caſks ſo decayed as to be half leaked out. However, we were delivered from our uncertainty the next day, having then a ſight of the iſland of Guam; and, hence we computed, that the currents had driven us forty four leagues to the weſtward of our accounts. Being now ſatisfied of our ſituation, by this ſight of land, we kept plying to the eaſtward, though with exceſſive labour; for the wind continuing fixed in the eaſtern board, we were obliged to tack often, and our crew was ſo weak, that, without the aſſiſtance of every man on board, it was not in our power to put the ſhip about. This ſevere employment laſted till the 11th of October, being the nineteenth day from our departure; when arriving in the offing of Tinian, we were reinforced from the ſhore, as hath been already related; and, on the evening of the ſame day, we, to our inexpreſſible joy, came to an anchor, in the road; thereby procuring to our ſhip-mates on ſhore, as well as to ourſelves, a ceſſation from the fatigues and apprehenſions which this diſaſtrous incident had given riſe to.

## CHAP. V.

*Employment at* TINIAN *till the final Departure of the* CENTURION *from thence; with a Deſcription of the* LADRONES.

WHEN the Commodore came on board the Centurion, after her return to Tinian, he reſolved to ſtay no longer at the iſland, than was abſolutely neceſſary to complete our ſtock of water; a work which we immediately ſet ourſelves about. But the loſs of our long boat, which was ſtaved againſt our poop, before we were driven out to ſea, put us to great inconveniences in get-

ting our water on board; for we were obliged to raft off all our casks, and the tide ran so strong, that besides the frequent delays and difficulties it occasioned, we more than once lost the whole raft. Nor was this our only misfortune; for, on the 14th of October, being but the third day after our arrival, a sudden gust of wind brought home our anchor, forced us off the bank, and drove the ship out to sea a second time. The Commodore, it is true, and the principal officers, were now on board; but we had near seventy men on shore, who had been employed in filling our water, and procuring provisions. These had with them our two cutters: but as they were too many for the cutters to bring off at once, we sent the eighteen-oared barge to assist them, and, at the same time, made a signal for all that could to embark. The two cutters soon came off to us full of men; but forty of the company, who were busied in killing cattle in the woods, and in bringing them down to the landing place, remained behind; and though the eighteen-oared barge was left for their conveyance, yet, as the ship soon drove to a considerable distance, it was not in their power to join us. However, as the weather was favourable, and our crew was now stronger than when we were first driven out, we, in about five days time, returned again to an anchor at Tinian, and relieved those we had left behind us from their second fears of being deserted by their ship.

On our arrival we found, that the Spanish bark, the old object of their hopes, had undergone a new metamorphoses: for those on shore, despairing of our return, and conceiving, that the lengthening the bark, as formerly proposed, was both a toilsome and unnecessary measure, considering the small number they consisted of, they had resolved to join her again, and restore her to her first state; and in this scheme they had made some progress; for they had brought the two parts together, and would have soon completed her, had not our coming back put a period to their labours and disquietudes.

These people we had left behind, informed us, that, just before we were seen in the offing, two proas had stood in very near the shore, and had continued there for some time; but on the appearance of our ship, they crowded

away, and were preſently out of ſight. And, on this occaſion, I muſt mention an incident, which, though it happened during the firſt abſence of the ſhip, was then omitted, to avoid interrupting the courſe of the narration.

It hath been already obſerved, that a part of the detachment, ſent to this iſland, under the command of the Spaniſh ſerjeant, lay concealed in the woods; indeed we were the leſs ſolicitous to find them out, as our priſoners all aſſured us, that it was impoſſible for them to get off, and conſequently it was impoſſible for them to ſend any intelligence about us to Guam. But when the Centurion drove out to ſea, and left the Commodore on ſhore, he, one day, attended by ſome of his officers, endeavoured to make the tour of the iſland. In this expedition, being on a riſing ground, they obſerved in the valley beneath them, the appearance of a ſmall thicket, which, by attending to more nicely, they found had a progreſſive motion; this, at firſt, ſurpriſed them; but they ſoon perceived that it was no more than ſeveral large cocoa-buſhes which were dragged along the ground by perſons concealed beneath them. They immediately concluded that theſe were ſome of the ſerjeant's party, which was indeed true; and therefore the Commodore and his people made after them, in hopes of tracing out their retreat. The Indians remarking that they were diſcovered, hurried away with precipitation; but Mr. Anſon was ſo near them, that he did not loſe ſight of them till they arrived at their cell, which he and his officers entering, found to be abandoned, there being a paſſage from it, which had been contrived for the conveniency of flight, and which led down a precipice. They here met with an old firelock or two, but no other arms. However, there was a great quantity of proviſions, particularly ſalted ſpar ribs of pork, which were excellent; and, from what our people ſaw, they concluded, that the extraordinary appetite which they had acquired at this iſland, was not confined to themſelves alone; for it being about noon, the Indians laid out a very plentiful repaſt, conſidering their numbers, and had their bread fruit and cocoa-nuts prepared ready for eating, in a manner too which plainly evinced, that with them, a good meal was neither an uncommon, nor unheaded article. The Commodore having, in vain, ſearched after the paths

by which the Indians eſcaped, he and his officers contented themſelves with ſitting down to dinner, which was thus luckily fitted to their preſent hunger; after which they returned back to their old habitation, diſpleaſed at miſſing the Indians, as they hoped to have engaged them in our ſervice, if they could have had any conference with them: I muſt add, that, notwithſtanding what our priſoners had aſſerted, we were afterwards aſſured that theſe Indians were carried off to Guam, long before we left the place. But to return to our hiſtory.

On our coming to an anchor again, after our ſecond driving off to ſea, we laboured indefatigably at getting in our water; and having, by the 20th of October, completed it to fifty tons, which we ſuppoſed would be ſufficient during our paſſage to Macao, we, on the next day, ſent one of each meſs on ſhore to gather as large a quantity of oranges, lemons, cocoa nuts, and other fruits of the iſland, as they poſſibly could, for the uſe of themſelves and their meſs mates when at ſea. And theſe purveyors returning on the evening of the ſame day, we then ſet fire to the bark and proa, hoiſted in our boats, and got under ſail, ſteering away towards the ſouth end of the iſland of Formoſa, and taking our leave for the third and laſt time of the iſland of Tinian; an iſland which, whether we conſider the excellence of its productions, the beauty of its appearance, the elegance of its woods and lawns, the healthineſs of its airs, or the adventures it gave riſe to, may, in all theſe views, be juſtly ſtiled romantic.

And now poſtponing, for a ſhort time, our run to Formoſa, and thence to Canton, I ſhall interrupt the narration with a deſcription of that range of iſlands, uſually called the Ladrones or Marian iſlands, of which this of Tinian is one.

Theſe iſlands were diſcovered by Magellan, in the year 1521: and from the account given of the two firſt he fell in with, it ſhould ſeem that they were thoſe of Saypan and Tinian: for they are deſcribed as very beautiful iſlands, and as lying between 15 and 16 degrees of north latitude. Theſe characteriſtics are particularly applicable to the two above-mentioned places; for the pleaſing appearance of

Tinian, hath occaſioned the Spaniards to give it the additional name of Buenaviſta; and Saypan, which is in the latitude of 15° : 22′ north, affords no contemptible proſpect when ſeen at ſea, as is ſufficiently evident from the view of its north-weſt-ſide, taken at three leagues diſtance, and exhibited in the XXXVII. plate.

There are uſually reckoned twelve of theſe iſlands; but it will appear, from the chart of the north part of the Pacific ocean, hereafter inſerted, that, if the ſmall iſlets and rocks are counted, that their whole number will amount to above twenty. They were formerly moſt of them well inhabited; and even not ſixty years ago, the three principal iſlands, Guam, Rota, and Tinian together, are aſſerted to have contained above fifty thouſand people; but ſince that time, Tinian hath been entirely depopulated; and no more than two or three hundred Indians have been left at Rota, to cultivate rice for the iſland of Guam; ſo that now Guam alone can properly be ſaid to be inhabited. This iſland of Guam is the only ſettlement of the Spaniards; here they keep a governor and garriſon, and here the Manila ſhip generally touches for refreſhment in her paſſage from Acapulco to the Philippines. It is eſteemed to be about thirty leagues in circumference, and contains, by the Spaniſh accounts, near four thouſand inhabitants, of which a thouſand are ſuppoſed to live in the city of San Ignatio de Agana, where the governor generally reſides, and where the houſes are repreſented as conſiderable, being built with ſtone and timber, and covered with tiles, a very uncommon fabric for theſe warm climates and ſavage countries; beſides this city, there are upon the iſland thirteen or fourteen villages. As Guam is a poſt of ſome conſequence, on account of the refreſhment it yields to the Manila ſhip, there are two caſtles on the ſea ſhore; one is the caſtle of St. Angelo which lies near the road where the Manila ſhip uſually anchors, and is but an inſignificant fortreſs, mounting only five guns, eight pounders; the other is the caſtle of St. Lewis, which is N. E. from St Angelo, and four leagues diſtant, and is intended to protect a road where a ſmall veſſel anchors, which arrives here every other year from Manila. This fort mounts the ſame number of guns as the former; and, beſides theſe forts, there is a battery of five pieces of cannon on an e-

minence near the ſea-ſhore. The Spaniſh troops, employed at this iſland, conſiſt of three companies of foot, betwixt forty and fifty men each; and this is the principal ſtrength the governor has to depend on; for he cannot rely on any aſſiſtance from the Indian inhabitants, being generally upon ill terms with them, and ſo apprehenſive of them, that he has debarred them the uſe both of fire-arms and lances.

The reſt of theſe iſlands, though not inhabited, do yet abound with many kinds of refreſhment and proviſion; but there is no good harbour or road amongſt them all: of that of Tinian we have treated largely already; nor is the road of Guam much better; ſince it is not uncommon for the Manila ſhip, though ſhe propoſes to ſtay there but twenty four hours, to be forced to ſea, and to leave her boat behind her. This is an inconvenience ſo ſenſibly felt by the commerce at Manila, that it is always recommended to the governor at Guam to uſe his beſt endeavours for the diſcovery of ſome ſecure port in the neighbouring ocean. How induſtrious he may be to comply with his inſtructions, I know not; but this is certain, that notwithſtanding the many iſlands already found out between the coaſt of Mexico and the Philippines, there is not any one ſafe port to be met with in that whole track; though in other parts of the world, it is not uncommon for very ſmall iſlands to furniſh moſt excellent harbours.

From what has been ſaid, it appears, that the Spaniards, on the iſland of Guam, are extremely few, compared to the Indian inhabitants; and formerly the diſproportion was ſtill greater, as may be eaſily conceived from the account given in another chapter, of the numbers heretofore on Tinian alone. Theſe Indians are a bold, ſtrong, well-limbed people; and as it ſhould ſeem, from ſome of their practices, are nowiſe defective in underſtanding: for their flying proas in particular, which, during ages paſt, have been the only veſſels employed by them, are ſo ſingular and extraordinary an invention, that it would do honour to any nation, however dextrous and acute; ſince, if we conſider the aptitude of this proa to the navigation of theſe iſlands, which, lying all of them, nearly under the ſame meridian, and within the limits of the trade-wind, require

the veſſels made uſe of in paſſing from one to the other, to be particularly fitted for ſailing with the wind upon the beam; or, if we examine the uncommon ſimplicity and ingenuity of its fabric and contrivance, or the extraordinary velocity with which it moves, we ſhall, in each of theſe articles, find it worthy of our admiration, and deſerving a place amongſt the mechanical productions of the moſt civilized nations, where arts and ſciences have moſt eminently flouriſhed. As former navigators, though they have mentioned theſe veſſels, have yet treated of them imperfectly, and, as I conceive, that beſides their curioſity, they may furniſh both the ſhip wright and ſeaman with no contemptible obſervations; I ſhall here inſert a very exact deſcription of the build, rigging, and working of theſe veſſels: which I am better enabled to perform, as one of them fell into our hands on our firſt arrival at Tinian, and Mr. Brett took it to pieces, that he might delineate its fabric and dimenſions with greater accuracy; ſo that the following account may be relied on.

The name of flying proa, appropriated to theſe veſſels, is owing to the ſwiftneſs with which they ſail. Of this the Spaniards aſſert ſuch ſtories, as muſt appear altogether incredible to one who has never ſeen theſe veſſels move: nor are they the only people who recount theſe extraordinary tales of their celerity; for thoſe who ſhall have the curioſity to enquire at Portſmouth dock, about an experiment tried there ſome years ſince, with a very imperfect one built at that place, will meet with accounts not leſs wonderful than any the Spaniards have related. However, from ſome rude eſtimations made by us, of the velocity with which they croſſed the horizon at a diſtance, while we lay at Tinian, I cannot help believing, that, with a briſk trade-wind, they will run near twenty miles an hour: which, though greatly ſhort of what the Spaniards report of them, is yet a prodigious degree of ſwiftneſs. But let us give a diſtinct idea of its figure.

The conſtruction of this proa is a direct contradiction to the practice of all the reſt of mankind. For as it is cuſtomary to make the head of the veſſel different from the ſtern, but the two ſides alike; the proa, on the contrary, has her head and ſtern exactly alike, but her two ſides ve-

ry different: the ſide intended to be always the lee-ſide being flat, whilſt the windward ſide is built rounding, in the manner of other veſſels; and to prevent her overſetting, which, from her ſmall breadth, and the ſtrait run of her leeward ſide, would, without this precaution, infallibly happen, there is a frame laid out from her to windward, to the end of which is faſtened a log, faſhioned into the ſhape of a ſmall boat, and made hollow: the weight of the frame is intended to balance the proa, and the ſmall boat is by its buoyancy (as it is always in the water) to prevent her overſetting to windward; and this frame is uſually called an outrigger. The body of the proa (at leaſt of that we took) is formed of two pieces joined end ways, and ſewed together with bark, for there is no iron uſed in her conſtruction; ſhe is about two inches thick at the bottom, which, at the gun-wale, is reduced to leſs than one; the dimenſions of each part will be better known from the uprights and views contained in the XXXVIII. plate, which were drawn from an exact menſuration; theſe I ſhall endeavour to explain as minutely and diſtinctly as I can.

*Fig.* 1. Repreſents the proa with her ſails ſet, as ſhe appears when ſeen from the leeward.

*Fig.* 2. Is a view of her from the head, with the outrigger to the windward.

*Fig.* 3. Is the plan of the whole; where (A B) is the lee ſide of the proa; (C D) the windward-ſide; (EFGH) the outrigger, or frame laid out to windward; (K L) the boat at the end of it; (MNPQ) two braces from the head and ſtern to ſteady the frame; (RS) a thin plank placed to windward, to prevent the proa from ſhipping of water; this ſerves too for a ſeat to the Indian who bales, and ſometimes goods are carried upon it. (I) is the part of the middle outrigger, on which the maſt is fixed: the maſt itſelf is ſupported *Fig.* 2. by the ſhore (C D), and by the ſhroud (E F), and by two ſtays, one of which may be ſeen in *Fig.* 1. marked (C D), the other is hid by the ſail: the ſail (EFG) in *Fig.* 1. is of matting, and the maſt, yard, boom, and outriggers, are all made of bamboo; the heel of the yard is always lodged in one of the ſockets (T)

or (V) *Fig.* 3. according to the tack the proa goes on; and when ſhe alters her tack, they bear away a little, to bring her ſtern up to the wind; then, by eaſing the hale-yard, and raiſing the yard, and carrying the heel of it along the lee-ſide of the proa, they fix it in the oppoſite ſocket; whilſt the boom, at the ſame time, by letting fly the ſheet, (M) and haling the ſheet (N) *Fig.* 1. ſhifts into a contrary ſituation to what it had before, and that which was the ſtern of the proa now becomes the head, and ſhe is trimmed on the other tack. When it is neceſſary to reef or furl the ſail, this is done by rolling it round the boom. The proa generally carries ſix or ſeven Indians; two of which are placed in the head and ſtern, who ſteer the veſſel alternately with a paddle, according to the tack ſhe goes on, he in the ſtern being the ſteerſman; the other Indians are employed either in baling out the water which ſhe accidentally ſhips, or in ſetting and trimming the ſail. From the deſcription of theſe veſſels it is ſufficiently obvious how dextrouſly they are fitted for ranging this collection of iſlands called the Ladrones; ſince, as theſe iſlands bear nearly N. and S. of each other, and are all within the limits of the trade-wind, the proas, by ſailing moſt excellently on a wind, and with either end foremoſt, can run from one of theſe iſlands to the other, and back again, only by ſhifting the ſail, without ever putting about; and by the flatneſs of their lee-ſide, and their ſmall breadth, they are capable of lying much nearer the wind than any other veſſel hitherto known, and thereby have an advantage which no veſſels that go large can ever pretend to; the advantage I mean is that of running with a velocity nearly as great, and, perhaps, ſometimes greater, than what the wind blows with. This, however paradoxical it may appear, is evident enough in ſimilar inſtances on ſhore; ſince it is well known that the ſails of a windmill often move faſter than the wind; and one great ſuperiority of common windmills over all others, that ever were, or ever will be contrived to move with an horizontal motion, is analogous to the caſe we have mentioned of a veſſel upon a wind, and before the wind; for the ſails of an horizontal windmill, the faſter they move the more they detract from the impulſe of the wind upon them; whereas the common windmills, by moving perpendicular

to the torrent of air, are nearly as forcibly acted on by the wind when they are in motion, as when they are at reſt.

Thus much may ſuffice as to the deſcription and nature of theſe ſingular embarkations. I muſt add, that veſſels bearing ſome obſcure reſemblance to theſe are to be met with in various parts of the Eaſt Indies, but none of them, that I can learn, to be compared with thoſe of the Ladrones, either for their conſtruction or celerity; which ſhould induce one to believe, that this was originally the invention of ſome genius of theſe iſlands, and was afterwards imperfectly copied by the neighbouring nations For though the Ladrones have no immediate intercourſe with any other people, yet there lie to the S. and S. W. of them a great number of iſlands, which are imagined to extend to the coaſt of New Guinea. Theſe iſlands are ſo near the Ladrones, that canoes from them have ſometimes, by diſtreſs, been driven to Guam; and the Spaniards did once diſpatch a bark for their diſcovery, which left two Jeſuits amongſt them, who were afterwards murdered; whence it may be preſumed, that the inhabitants of the Ladrones, with their proas, may by ſtorms or caſualities have been driven amongſt thoſe iſlands. Indeed, I ſhould conceive, that the ſame range of iſlands, ſtretches to the S. E. as well as the S W. and to a prodigious diſtance: for Schouten, who traverſed the ſouth part of the Pacific ocean in the year 1615, met with a large double canoe, full of people, above a thouſand leagues from the Ladrones towards the S E. If that double canoe was any diſtant imitation of the flying proa, which is no very improbable conjecture, it muſt then be ſuppoſed that a range of iſlands, near enough to each other to be capable of an accidental communication, is continued thither from the Ladrones. This ſeems to be further evinced from hence, that all thoſe who have croſſed from America to the Eaſt Indies, in a ſouthern latitude, have never failed of diſcovering ſeveral ſmall iſlands ſcattered over that immenſe ocean.

And as there may be hence ſome reaſon to conclude, that there is a chain of iſlands ſpreading themſelves ſouthward, towards the unknown boundaries of the Pacific ocean, of which the Ladrones are only a part; ſo it ap-

pears from the Spaniſh chart, hereafter inſerted, that the ſame chain is extended from the northward of the Ladrones to Japan; whence, in this light, the Ladrones will be only one ſmall portion of a range of iſlands reaching from Japan, perhaps to the unknown ſouthern continent. After this ſhort account of theſe places, I ſhall now return to the proſecution of our voyage.

## CHAP. VI.

### *From* TINIAN *to* MACAO.

ON the 21ſt of October, in the evening, we took our leave of the iſland of Tinian, ſteering the proper courſe for Macao in China. The eaſtern monſoon was now, we reckoned, fairly ſettled: and we had a conſtant gale blowing right a ſtern; ſo that we generally ran from forty to fifty leagues a day: but we had a large hollow ſea purſuing us, which occaſioned the ſhip to labour much; whence our leak was augmented, and we received great damage in our rigging, which, by this time, was grown very rotten; however, our people were now happily in full health; ſo that there were no complaints of fatigue, but all went through their attendance on the pumps and every other duty of the ſhip, with eaſe and chearfulneſs.

Before we left Tinian, we ſwept for our beſt and ſmall bower, and employed the Indians to dive in ſearch of them; but all to no purpoſe; hence, except our prize anchors, which were ſtowed in the hold, and were too light to be depended on, we had only our ſheet anchor left: and that being obviouſly much too heavy for a coaſting anchor, we were under great concern how we ſhould manage on the coaſt of China, where we were entire ſtrangers, and where we ſhould, doubtleſs, be frequently under the neceſſity of coming to an anchor. But we, at length, removed the difficulty, by fixing two of our largeſt prize anchors into one ſtock, and placing between their ſhanks two guns, four pounders; this we intended to ſerve as a beſt bower: and a third prize anchor being, in like manner, joined to our ſtream anchor, with guns between them, made us a ſmall bower: ſo that, beſides our ſheet anchor,

we had again two others at our bows, one of which weighed 3,900, and the other 2,900 pounds.

The 3d of November, about three in the afternoon, we ſaw an iſland, which, at firſt, we imagined, to be Botel Tobago Xima: but, on our nearer approach, we found it to be much ſmaller than that is uſually repreſented; and about an hour after, we ſaw another iſland, five or ſix miles farther to the weſtward. As no chart or journal we had ſeen took notice of any iſland to the eaſtward of Formoſa, but Botel Tobago Xima, and as we had no obſervation of our latitude at noon, we were in ſome perplexity, apprehending that an extraordinary current had driven us into the neighbourhood of the Baſhee iſlands: we therefore, when night came on, brought to, and continued in that poſture till the next morning, which proving dark and cloudy, for ſome time prolonged our uncertainty; but it clearing up about nine o'clock, we again diſcerned the two iſlands above mentioned; and having now the day before us, we preſſed forwards to the weſtward, and, by eleven, got ſight of the ſouthern part of the iſland of Formoſa. This ſatisfied us that the ſecond iſland we ſaw was Botel Tobago Xima, and the firſt a ſmall iſlet or rock lying five or ſix miles due eaſt of it, which not being mentioned in any of our books or charts, had been the occaſion of all our doubts.

When we had made the iſland of Formoſa, we ſteered W. by S. in order to double its extremity, and kept a good look out for the rocks of Vele Rete, which we did not diſcover till two in the afternoon. They then bore from us W. N. W. three miles diſtant, the ſouth end of Formoſa at the ſame time bearing N. by W. W. $\frac{1}{2}$, about five leagues diſtant. To give theſe rocks a good birth, we immediately haled up S. by W. and ſo left them between us and the land. Indeed we had reaſon to be careful of them; for though they appeared as high out of the water as a ſhip's hull, yet they are environed with breakers on all ſides, and there is a ſhoal ſtretching from them at leaſt a mile and a half to the ſouthward, whence they may be truly called dangerous. The courſe from Botel Tobago Xima to theſe rocks, is S. W. by W. and the diſtance about twelve or thirteen leagues; and the ſouth end of For-

moſa, off which they lie, is in the latitude of 21°: 50′ north, and, according to our moſt approved reckoning, in 23°: 50′ weſt longitude from Tinian, though ſome of our accounts made its longitude above a degree more.

While we were paſſing by theſe rocks of Vele Rete, there was an outcry of fire in the forecaſtle; this occaſioned a general alarm, and the whole crew inſtantly flocked together in the utmoſt confuſion; ſo that the officers found it difficult, for ſome time, to appeaſe the uproar: but having at laſt reduced the people to order, it was perceived, that the fire proceeded from the furnace, where the bricks being overheated, had begun to communicate the fire to the adjacent wood work; hence, by pulling down the brick work, it was extinguiſhed with great facility. In the evening, we were ſurpriſed with a view of what we at firſt ſight conceived to have been breakers, but, on a ſtricter examination, we diſcerned them to be only a number of fires on the iſland of Formoſa. Theſe, we imagined, were intended by the inhabitants of that iſland as ſignals to invite us to touch there; but that ſuited not our views, we being impatient to reach the port of Macao as ſoon as poſſible. From Formoſa we ſteered W. N. W. and ſometimes ſtill more northerly, propoſing to fall in with the coaſt of China, to the eaſtward of Pedro Blanco; as the rock ſo called is uſually eſteemed an excellent direction for ſhips bound to Macoa. We continued this courſe till the following night, and then frequently brought to, to try if we were in ſoundings; but it was the 5th of November, at nine in the morning, before we ſtruck ground, and then we had forty two fathom, and a bottom of gray ſand mixed with ſhells. When we had run about twenty miles farther W. N. W. we had thirty five fathom, and the ſame bottom; then our ſoundings gradually decreaſed from thirty five to twenty five fathom; but ſoon after, to our great ſurpriſe, they jumped back again to thirty fathom. This was an alteration we could not very well account for, ſince all the charts laid down regular ſoundings every where to the northward of Pedro Blanco; we, for this reaſon, kept a very careful look out, and altered our courſe to N. N. W. and having run thirty five miles in that direction, our ſoundings again gradually diminiſhed to twenty two fathom, and we, at laſt, about midnight, got

ſight of the main land of China, bearing N. by W. four leagues diſtant. We then brought the ſhip to, with her head to the ſea, propoſing to wait for the morning, and, before ſun riſe, we were ſurpriſed to find ourſelves in the midſt of an incredible number of fiſhing boats, which ſeemed to cover the ſurface of the ſea as far as the eye could reach. I may well ſtyle their number incredible, ſince I cannot believe, upon the loweſt eſtimate, that there were ſo few as ſix thouſand, moſt of them manned with five hands, and none of thoſe we ſaw with leſs than three. Nor was this ſwarm of fiſhing veſſels peculiar to that ſpot; for, as we ran to the weſtward, we found them as abundant on every part of the coaſt. We, at firſt, doubted not but we ſhould procure a pilot from them to carry us to Macao; but though many of them came cloſe to the ſhip, and we endeavoured to tempt them, by ſhowing them a number of dollars, a moſt alluring bait for Chineſe of all ranks and profeſſions, yet we could not entice them on board us, nor procure any directions from them, though I preſume the only difficulty was their not comprehending what we wanted them to do, as we could have no communication with them but by ſigns. Indeed we often pronounced the word Macao; but this we had reaſon to ſuppoſe they underſtood in a different ſenſe, ſince in return they ſometimes held up fiſh to us; and we afterwards learned, that the Chineſe name for fiſh is of a ſomewhat ſimilar ſound. But what ſurpriſed us moſt, was the inattention and want of curioſity which we obſerved in this herd of fiſhermen. A ſhip like ours had, doubtleſs, never been in thoſe ſeas before: perhaps there might not be one, amongſt all the Chineſe employed in that fiſhery, who had ever ſeen any European veſſel; ſo that we might reaſonably have expected to have been conſidered by them as a very uncommon and extraordinary object. But though many of their boats came cloſe to the ſhip, yet they did not appear to be at all intereſted about us, nor did they deviate in the leaſt from their courſe to regard us; which inſenſibility, eſpecially of maritime perſons, in a matter relating to their own profeſſion, is ſcarcely to be credited, did not the general behaviour of the Chineſe, in other inſtances, furniſh us with continual proofs of a ſimilar turn of mind. It may perhaps be doubted, whether this caſt of temper be the effect of nature or education: but, in either caſe,

it is an unconteſtible ſymptom of a mean and contemptible diſpoſition, and is alone a ſufficient confutation of the extravagant praiſes which many prejudiced writers have beſtowed on the ingenuity and capacity of this nation. But to return:

Not being able to procure any information from the Chineſe fiſhermen about our proper courſe to Macao, it was neceſſary for us to rely entirely on our own judgement: and concluding from our latitude, which was 22°: 42′ north, and from our ſoundings, which were only ſeventeen or eighteen fathoms, that we were yet to the eaſtward of Pedro Blanco, we ſtill ſtood on to the weſtward. And for the aſſiſtance of future navigators, who may hereafter doubt what part of the coaſt they are upon, I muſt obſerve, that, beſides the latitude of Pedro Blanco, which is 22°: 18′, and the depth of the water, which to the weſtward of that rock is almoſt every where twenty fathoms, there is another circumſtance which will be greatly aſſiſtant in judging of the poſition of the ſhip, this is the kind of ground; for, till we came within thirty miles of Pedro Blanco, we had conſtantly a ſandy bottom, but there the bottom changed to ſoft and muddy, and continued ſo quite to the iſland of Macao; only while we were in ſight of Pedro Blanco, and very near it, we had, for a ſhort ſpace, a bottom of greeniſh mud intermixed with ſand.

It was on the 5th of November, at midnight, when we firſt made the coaſt of China: the next day, about two o'clock, as we were ſtanding to the weſtward, within two leagues of the coaſt, ſtill ſurrounded by fiſhing veſſels in as great numbers as at firſt, we perceived that a boat a head of us waved a red flag, and blew a horn. This we conſidered as a ſignal made to us, either to warn us of ſome ſhoal, or to inform us that they would ſupply us with a pilot; we therefore immediately ſent our cutter to the boat to know their intentions; when we were ſoon convinced of our miſtake, and found that this boat was the Commodore of the whole fiſhery, and that the ſignal ſhe had made, was to order them all to leave off fiſhing, and to return them on ſhore, which we ſaw them inſtantly obey. Being thus diſappointed, we kept on our courſe, and ſhortly after paſſed by two very ſmall rocks, which lay four

or five miles diſtant from the ſhore. We were now in hourly expectation of deſcrying Pedro Blanco; but night came on before we got ſight of it, and we therefore brought to till the morning, when we had the ſatisfaction to diſcover it. Pedro Blanco is a rock of a ſmall circumference, but of a moderate height, reſembling a ſugar loaf both in ſhape and colour, and is about ſeven or eight miles diſtant from the ſhore. We paſſed within a mile and a half of it, and left it between us and the land, ſtill keeping on to the weſtward; and the next day, being the 7th, we were abreaſt of a chain of iſlands which ſtretched from eaſt to weſt. Theſe, as we afterwards found, were called the iſlands of Lema; they are rocky and barren, and are in all, ſmall and great, fifteen or ſixteen; but there are beſides many more between them and the main land of China. There is, in the XXXIX. plate, a view of theſe iſlands, and likewiſe a view of an iſland lying off Macao, called the Grand Ladrone, hereafter mentioned, as it appears when (R), the weſtermoſt of the rocks of Lema, bears W. N. W. at the diſtance of a mile and a half. We left theſe iſlands on the ſtarboard ſide, paſſing within four miles of them, where we had twenty four fathoms water Being ſtill ſurrounded by fiſhing boats, we once more ſent the cutter on board ſome of them, to endeavour to procure a pilot, but we could not prevail; however, one of the Chineſe directed us by ſigns to ſail round the weſtermoſt of the iſlands or rocks of Lema, and then to hale up. We followed this direction, and, in the evening, came to an anchor in eighteen fathom; at which time the rock (R) in the foregoing draught, bore S. S. E. five miles diſtant, and the Grand Ladrone W. by S. about two leagues diſtant. The rock (R) is a moſt excellent direction for ſhips coming from the eaſtward: its latitude is 21°: 52′ north, and it bears from Pedro Blanco S. 64° W. diſtant twenty-one leagues. You are to leave it on the ſtarboard ſide, and you may come within half a mile of it in eighteen fathom water; and then you muſt ſteer N. by W. ½ W. for the channel, between the iſlands of Cabouce and Bamboo, which are to the northward of the Grand Ladrone.

After having continued at anchor all night, we, on the 9th, at four in the morning, ſent our cutter to ſound the

channel, where we propoſed to paſs; but, before the return of the cutter, a Chineſe pilot put on board the Centurion, and told us, in broken Portugueſe, he would carry the ſhip to Macao for thirty dollars: theſe were immediately paid him, and we then weighed and made ſail. Soon after, ſeveral other pilots came on board, who, to recommend themſelves, produced certificates from the captains of many European ſhips they had piloted in, but we ſtill continued under the management of the Chineſe whom we at firſt engaged. By this time we learned, that we were not far diſtant from Macao, and that there were in the river of Canton, at the mouth of which Macao lies, eleven European ſhips, of which four were Engliſh. Our pilot carried us between the iſlands of Bamboo and Cabouce; but the winds hanging in the northern board, and the tides often ſetting ſtrongly againſt us, we were obliged to come frequently to an anchor; ſo that we did not get through between the two iſlands till the 12th of November, at two in the morning. In paſſing through, our depth of water was from twelve to fourteen fathoms; and as we ſteered on N. by W. ½ W. between a number of other iſlands, our ſoundings underwent little or no variation till towards the evening, when they increaſed to ſeventeen fathom; in which depth, the wind dying away, we anchored not far from the iſland of Lantoon, the largeſt of all this range of iſlands. At ſeven in the morning, we weighed again, and ſteering W. S. W. and S. W. by W. we, at ten o'clock, happily anchored in Macao road, in five fathom water, the city of Macoa bearing W. by N. three leagues diſtant; the peak of Lantoon E. by N. and the Grand Ladrone S. by E. each of them about five leagues diſtant. Thus, after a fatiguing cruiſe, of above two years continuance, we once more arrived at an amicable port and civilized country, where the conveniences of life were in great plenty; where the naval ſtores which we now extremely wanted, could be in ſome degree procured; where we expected the inexpreſſible ſatisfaction of receiving letters from our relations and friends; and where our countrymen, who were lately arrived from England, would be capable of anſwering the numerous inquiries we were prepared to make, both about public and private occurrences, and to relate to us many particulars, which, whether of importance or not, would be liſtened to by us with the

utmoſt attention, after the long ſuſpenſion of our correſpondence with our country, to which the nature of our undertaking had hitherto ſubjected us.

## CHAP. VII.

### *Proceedings at* MACAO.

THE city of Macao, in the road of which we came to anchor on the 12th of November, is a Portugueſe ſettlement, ſituated in an iſland at the entrance of the river of Canton. It was formerly very rich and populous, and capable of defending itſelf againſt the power of the adjacent Chineſe governors; but at preſent it is much fallen from its ancient ſplendor; for though it is inhabited by Portugueſe, and hath a governor nominated by the king of Portugal, yet it ſubſiſts merely by the ſufference of the Chineſe, who can ſtarve the place, and diſpoſſeſs the Portugueſe whenever they pleaſe. This obliges the governor of Macao to behave with great circumſpection, and carefully to avoid every circumſtance that may give offence to the Chineſe. The river of Canton, off the mouth of which this city lies, is the only Chineſe port frequented by European ſhips, and is on many accounts a more commodious harbour than Macao: but the peculiar cuſtoms of the Chineſe, ſolely adapted to the entertainment of trading ſhips, and the apprehenſions of the Commodore, leſt he ſhould embroil the Eaſt India company with the regency of Canton, if he ſhould inſiſt on being treated upon a different footing than the merchantmen, made him reſolve rather to go to Macao, than to venture into the river of Canton. Indeed, had not this reaſon prevailed with him, he himſelf had nothing to fear; for it is certain that he might have entered the port of Canton, and might have continued there as long as he pleaſed, and afterwards have left it again, although the whole power of the Chineſe empire had been brought together to oppoſe him.

The Commodore, not to depart from his uſual prudence, no ſooner came to an anchor in Macao road, than he diſpatched an officer with his compliments to the Por-

tugueſe governor at Macao, requeſting his excellency, by the ſame officer, to adviſe him in what manner it would be proper to act, to avoid offending the Chineſe, which, as there were then four of our ſhips in their power at Canton, was a matter worthy of attention. The difficulty which the Commodore principally apprehended, related to the duty uſually paid by ſhips in the river of Canton, according to their tonnage. For, as men of war are exempted in every foreign harbour from all manner of port charges, the Commodore thought it would be derogatory to the honour of his country to ſubmit to this duty in China; and therefore he deſired the advice of the governor of Macao, who, being an European, could not be ignorant of the privileges claimed by a Britiſh man of war, and conſequently might be expected to give us the beſt lights for obviating this perplexity. Our boat returned in the evening, with two officers ſent by the governor, who informed the Commodore, that it was the governor's opinion, that, if the Centurion ventured into the river of Canton, the duty would certainly be expected; and therefore, if the Commodore approved of it, he would ſend him a pilot, who ſhould conduct us into another ſafe harbour called the Typa, which was every way commodious for careening the ſhip (an operation we were reſolved to begin upon as ſoon as poſſible) and where in all probability, the above mentioned duty would never be demanded.

This propoſal the Commodore agreed to, and in the morning weighed anchor, under the direction of the Portugueſe pilot, and ſteered for the intended harbour. As we entered between two iſlands, which form the eaſtern paſſage to it, we found our ſoundings decreaſed to three fathoms and an half; however the pilot aſſuring us that this was the leaſt depth we ſhould meet with, we continued our courſe, till at length the ſhip ſtuck faſt in the mud, with only eighteen feet water abaft; and the tide of ebb making, the water ſewed to ſixteen feet; but the ſhip remained perfectly upright; we then ſounded all around us, and diſcovering that the water deepened to the northward, we carried out our ſmall bower with two hawſers an end, and at the return of the tide of flood, hove the ſhip aſloat; and a breeze ſpringing up at the ſame inſtant, we

ſet the fore top ſail, and ſlipping the hawſer, ran into the harbour, where we moored in about five fathom water. This harbour of the Typa, is formed by a number of iſlands, and is about ſix miles diſtant from Macao. Here we ſaluted the caſtle of Macao with eleven guns, which were returned by an equal number.

The next day the Commodore paid a viſit in perſon to the governor, and was ſaluted at his landing by eleven guns, which were returned by the Centurion. Mr. Anſon's buſineſs, in this viſit, was to ſolicit the governor to grant us a ſupply both of proviſions, and of ſuch naval ſtores as were neceſſary to refit the ſhip. The governor ſeemed really inclined to do us all the ſervice he could; and aſſured the Commodore, in a friendly manner, that he would privately give us all the aſſiſtance in his power; and he frankly owned, that he dared not openly furniſh us with any thing we demanded, unleſs we firſt procured an order for it from the viceroy of Canton; ſince he himſelf neither received proviſions for his garriſon, nor any other neceſſaries, but by permiſſion from the Chineſe government; and as they took care only to victual him from day to day, he was indeed no other than their vaſſal, whom they could at all times compel to ſubmit to their own terms, by laying an embargo on his proviſions.

On this declaration of the governor, Mr. Anſon reſolved himſelf to go to Canton, to procure a licence from the viceroy; and he accordingly hired a Chineſe boat for himſelf and his attendants; but juſt as he was ready to embark, the Hoppo, or Chineſe cuſtom houſe officer of Macao, refuſed to grant a permit to the boat, and ordered the watermen not to proceed at their peril. The Commodore at firſt endeavoured to prevail with the Hoppo to withdraw his injunction, and to grant a permit; and the governor of Macao employed his intereſt with the Hoppo to the ſame purpoſe. But the officer continuing inflexible, Mr Anſon told him, the next day, that, if the permit was any longer refuſed, he would man and arm the Centurion's boats; aſking the Hoppo, at the ſame time, who he imagined would dare to oppoſe them in their paſſage? This threat immediately brought about what his intreaties had endeavoured at in vain: the per-

mit was granted, and Mr. Anſon went to Canton. On his arrival there, he conſulted with the ſupercargoes and officers of the Engliſh ſhips, how to procure an order from the viceroy for the neceſſaries he wanted; but in this he had reaſon to ſuppoſe, that the advice they gave him, tho' well intended, was yet not the moſt prudent: for as it is the cuſtom with theſe gentlemen never to apply to the ſupreme magiſtrate themſelves, whatever difficulties they labour under, but to tranſact all matters relating to the government by the mediation of the principal Chineſe merchants, Mr. Anſon was perſuaded to follow the ſame method upon this occaſion, the Engliſh promiſing, in which they were doubtleſs ſincere, to exert all their intereſt to engage the merchants in his favour. Indeed, when the Chineſe merchants were ſpoke to, they readily undertook the management of this buſineſs, and promiſed to anſwer for its ſucceſs; but after near a month's delay, and reiterated excuſes, during which interval they pretended to be often upon the point of completing it, they at laſt, when they were preſſed, and meaſures were taken for delivering a letter to the viceroy, threw off the maſk, and declared they neither had made application to the viceroy, nor could they, as he was too great a man, they ſaid, for them to approach on any occaſion: and, not contented with having themſelves thus groſsly deceived the Commodore, they now uſed all their perſuaſion with the Engliſh at Canton, to prevent them from intermeddling with any thing that regarded him; repreſenting to them, that it would, in all probability, embroil them with the government, and occaſion them a great deal of unneceſſary trouble; which groundleſs inſinuations had unluckily but too much weight with thoſe they were intended to influence.

It may be difficult to aſſign a reaſon for this perfidious conduct of the Chineſe merchants. Intereſt, indeed, is known to exert a boundleſs influence over the inhabitants of that empire; but how their intereſt could be affected in the preſent caſe, is not eaſy to diſcover; unleſs they apprehended, that the preſence of a ſhip of force might damp their Manila trade, and therefore acted in this manner with a view of forcing the Commodore to Batavia: though it might be as natural, in this light, to ſuppoſe, that they would have been eager to have got him diſpatched. I

therefore rather impute their behaviour to the unparalleled puſillanimity of the nation, and to the awe they are under of the government; ſince ſuch a ſhip as the Centurion, fitted for war only, having never been ſeen in thoſe parts before, ſhe was the horror of theſe daſtards; and the merchants were, in ſome degree, terrified even with the idea of her, and could not think of applying to the viceroy, who is doubtleſs fond of all opportunities of fleecing them, without repreſenting to themſelves the occaſions which a hungry and tyrannical magiſtrate might poſſibly find for cenſuring their intermeddling with ſo unuſual a tranſaction, in which he might pretend the intereſt of the ſtate was immediately concerned. However, be this as it may, the Commodore was ſatisfied that nothing was to be done by the interpoſition of the merchants, as it was on his preſſing them to deliver a letter to the viceroy, that they had declared they durſt not interfere in the affair; and had confeſſed, that, notwithſtanding all their pretences of ſerving him, they had not yet taken one ſtep towards it. Mr. Anſon therefore told them, that he would proceed to Batavia, and refit his ſhip there; but informed them, at the ſame time, that this was impoſſible to be done, unleſs he was ſupplied with a ſtock of proviſions ſufficient for his paſſage. The merchants, on this, undertook to procure him proviſions, though they aſſured him, that it was what they durſt not engage in openly, but they propoſed to manage it in a clandeſtine manner, by putting a quantity of bread, flower, and other proviſions, on board the Engliſh ſhips, which were now ready to ſail; and that theſe were to ſtop at the mouth of the Typa, where the Centurion's boats were to receive it. This article, which the merchants repreſented as a matter of great favour, being ſettled, the Commodore, on the 16th of December, came back from Canton to the ſhip, ſeemingly reſolved to proceed to Batavia to refit, as ſoon as he ſhould get his ſupplies of proviſions on board.

But Mr Anſon (who never intended going to Batavia) found, on his return to the Centurion, that her main maſt was ſprung in two places, and that the leak was conſiderably increaſed; ſo that, upon the whole, he was fully ſatisfied, that though he ſhould lay in a ſufficient ſtock of proviſions, yet it would be impoſſible for him to put to ſea

without refitting: ſince, if he left the port with his ſhip in her preſent condition, ſhe would be in the utmoſt danger of foundering; and therefore, notwithſtanding the difficulties he had met with, he reſolved, at all events, to have her hove down, before he departed from Macao. He was fully convinced, by what he had obſerved in Canton, that his great caution not to injure the Eaſt India company's affairs, and the regard he had ſhown to the advice of their officers, had occaſioned all this perplexity. For he now ſaw clearly, that if he had at firſt carried his ſhip into the river Canton, and had immediately addreſſed himſelf to the Mandarines, who are the chief officers of ſtate, inſtead of employing the merchants to apply on his behalf, he would, in all probability, have had all his requeſts granted, and would have been ſoon diſpatched. He had already loſt a month by the wrong meaſures he had purſued, but he reſolved to loſe as little more time as poſſible; and therefore, the 17th of December, being the next day after his return from Canton, he wrote a letter to the viceroy of that place, acquainting him, that he was commander in chief of a ſquadron of his Britannic Majeſty's ſhips of war, which had been cruiſing, for two years paſt, in the South Seas againſt the Spaniards, who were at enmity with the king his maſter; that, on his way back to England he had put into the port of Macao, having a conſiderable leak in his ſhip, and being in great want of proviſions, ſo that it was impoſſible for him to proceed on his voyage till his ſhip was repaired, and he was ſupplied with the neceſſaries he wanted; that he had been at Canton, in hopes of being admitted to a perſonal audience of his excellency; but, being a ſtranger to the cuſtoms of the country, he had not been able to inform himſelf what ſteps were neceſſary to be taken to procure ſuch an audience, and therefore was obliged to apply in this manner, to deſire his excellency to give orders for his being permitted to employ carpenters and proper workmen, to refit his ſhip, and to furniſh himſelf with proviſions and ſtores, that he might be enabled to purſue his voyage to Great Britain; hoping, at the ſame time, that theſe orders would be iſſued with as little delay as poſſible, leſt it might occaſion his loſs of the ſeaſon, and he might be prevented from departing till the next winter.

This letter was tranſlated into the Chineſe language, and the Commodore delivered it himſelf to the Hoppo, or chief officer of the emperor's cuſtoms at Macao, deſiring him to forward it to the viceroy of Canton, with as much expedition as he could. The officer, at firſt, ſeemed unwilling to take charge of it, and raiſed many difficulties about it; ſo that Mr. Anſon ſuſpected him of being in league with the merchants of Canton, who had always ſhown a great apprehenſion of the Commodore's having any immediate intercourſe with the Viceroy or Mandarines; and therefore the Commodore, not without ſome reſentment, took back his letter from the Hoppo, and told him, he would immediately ſend it to Canton in his own boat, and would give his officer particular orders not to return without an anſwer from the Viceroy. The Hoppo perceiving the Commodore to be in earneſt, and fearing to be called to an account for his refuſal, begged to be entruſted with the letter, and promiſed to deliver it, and procure an anſwer as ſoon as poſſible. And now it was preſently ſeen how juſtly Mr. Anſon had at laſt judged of the proper manner of dealing with the Chineſe; for this letter was written but the 17th of December, as hath been already obſerved, and, on the 19th, in the morning, a Mandarine of the firſt rank, who was governor of the city of Janſon, together with two Mandarines of an inferior claſs, and a conſiderable retinue of officers and ſervants, having with them eighteen half gallies furniſhed with muſic, and decorated with a great number of ſtreamers, and full of men, came to grapnel a head of the Centurion; whence the Mandarine ſent a meſſage to the Commodore, telling him, that he (the Mandarine) was ordered by the Viceroy of Canton to examine the condition of the ſhip; therefore deſiring the ſhip's boat might be ſent to fetch them on board. The Centurion's boat was immediately diſpatched, and preparations were made for receiving him; in particular, an hundred of the moſt ſightly of the crew were uniformly dreſſed, in the regimentals of the marines, and were drawn up under arms on the main-deck, againſt his arrival. When he entered the ſhip, he was ſaluted by the drums and what other military muſic there was on board, and paſſing by the new formed guard, he was met by the Commodore on the quarter deck, who conducted him to the great Cabin. Here the Mandarine

explained his commiſſion, declaring, that he was directed to examine all the articles mentioned in the Commodore's letter to the Viceroy, and to confront them with the repreſentation that had been given of them: that he was, in the firſt place, inſtructed to inſpect the leak, and had, for that purpoſe, brought with him two Chineſe carpenters; and that, for the more regular diſpatch of his buſineſs, he had every head of inquiry ſeparately wrote down on a ſheet of paper, with a void ſpace oppoſite to it, where he was to inſert ſuch information, and remarks thereon, as he could procure by his own obſervation.

This Mandarine appeared to be a perſon of very conſiderable parts, and endowed with more frankneſs and honeſty than is to be found in the generality of the Chineſe. After the neceſſary inſpections had been made, particularly about the leak, which the Chineſe carpenters reported to be to the full as dangerous as it had been deſcribed, and conſequently, that it was impoſſible for the Centurion to proceed to ſea without being refitted, the Mandarine expreſſed himſelf ſatisfied with the account given in the Commodore's letter. And this magiſtrate, as he was more intelligent than any other perſon of his nation that came to our knowledge, ſo likewiſe was he more curious and inquiſitive, viewing each part of the ſhip with extraordinary attention, and appearing greatly ſurpriſed at the largeneſs of the lower deck guns, and at the weight and ſize of the ſhot. The Commodore obſerving his aſtoniſhment, thought this a proper opportunity to convince the Chineſe of the prudence of granting him all his demands in the moſt ſpeedy and ample manner: he therefore told the Mandarine, and thoſe who were with him, that, beſides the requeſt he made for a general licence to furniſh himſelf with whatever his preſent ſituation required, he had a particular complaint to prefer againſt the proceedings of the cuſtom-houſe of Macao; that at his firſt arrival, the Chineſe boats had brought on board plenty of greens, and variety of freſh proviſions for daily uſe; that, though they had always been paid to their full ſatisfaction, yet the cuſtom houſe officers at Macao had ſoon forbid them; by which means he was deprived of thoſe refreſhments which were of the utmoſt conſequence to the health of his men, after their long and ſickly voyage; that as they, the

the Mandarines, had informed themſelves of his wants, and were eye-witneſſes of the force and ſtrength of his ſhip, they might be ſatisfied it was not, becauſe he had no power to ſupply himſelf, that he deſired the permiſſion of the government to purchaſe what proviſions he ſtood in need of, ſince he preſumed they were convinced, that, the Centurion alone was capable of deſtroying the whole navigation of the port of Canton, or of any other port of China, without running the leaſt riſk from all the force the Chineſe could collect: that it was true this was not the manner of proceeding between nations in friendſhip with each other; but it was likewiſe true, that it was not cuſtomary for any nation to permit the ſhips of their friends to ſtarve and ſink in their ports, when thoſe friends had money to purchaſe neceſſaries, and only deſired liberty to lay it out: that they muſt confeſs, he and his people had hitherto behaved with great modeſty and reſerve; but that, as his diſtreſſes were each day increaſing, famine would at laſt prove too ſtrong for any reſtraint, and neceſſity was acknowledged, in all countries, to be ſuperior to every other law; and therefore it could not be expected that this crew would long continue to ſtarve in the midſt of that plenty to which their eyes were every day witneſſes: to this the Commodore added (though perhaps with a leſs ſerious air) that if, by the delay of ſupplying him with proviſions, his men ſhould, from the impulſes of hunger, be obliged to turn cannibals, and to prey upon their own ſpecies, it was eaſy to be foreſeen, that, independent of their friendſhip to their comrades, they would, in point of luxury, prefer the plump well fed Chineſe to their own emaciated ſhipmates. The firſt Mandarine acquieſced in the juſtneſs of this reaſoning, and told the Commodore, that he ſhould that night proceed for Canton: that, on his arrival, a council of Mandarines would be ſummoned, of which he was a member, and that by being employed in the preſent commiſſion, he was of courſe the Commodore's advocate; that, as he was himſelf fully convinced of the urgency of Mr. Anſon's neceſſity, he did not doubt but, on the repreſentation he ſhould make of what he had ſeen, the council would be of the ſame opinion; and that all that was demanded would be amply and ſpeedily granted: that, with regard to the Commodore's complaint of the cuſtom houſe of Macao, this he would

undertake to rectify immediately by his own authority. And then, deſiring a liſt to be given him of the quantity of proviſion neceſſary for the expence of the ſhip during one day, he wrote a permit under it, and delivered it to one of his attendants, directing him to ſee that quantity ſent on board early every morning; which order, from that time forwards, was punctually complied with.

When this weighty affair was thus, in ſome degree, regulated, the Commodore invited him, and his two attendant Mandarines, to dinner, telling them, at the ſame time, that if his proviſion, either in kind or quantity, was not what they might expect, they muſt thank themſelves for having confined him to ſo hard an allowance. One of his diſhes was beef, which the Chineſe all diſlike, tho' Mr. Anſon was not appriſed of it. This ſeems to be derived from the Indian ſuperſtition, which, for ſome ages paſt, has made a great progreſs in China. However, his gueſts did not entirely faſt: for the three Mandarines completely finiſhed the white part of four large fowls. They were indeed extremely embarraſſed with their knives and forks, and were quite incapable of making uſe of them; ſo that, after ſome fruitleſs attempts to help themſelves, which were ſufficiently aukward, one of the attendants was obliged to cut their meat in ſmall pieces for them. But whatever difficulty they might have in complying with the European manner of eating, they ſeemed not to be novices at drinking. In this part of the entertainment, the Commodore excuſed himſelf under the pretence of illneſs; but there being another gentleman preſent, of a florid and jovial complexion, the chief Mandarine clapped him on the ſhoulder, and told him by the interpreter, that certainly he could not plead ſickneſs, and therefore inſiſted on his bearing him company; and that gentleman perceiving, that, after they had diſpatched four or five bottles of Frontiniac, the Mandarine ſtill continued unruffled, he ordered a bottle of Citron water to be brought up, which the Chineſe ſeemed much to reliſh; and this being near finiſhed, they aroſe from table, in appearance cool and uninfluenced by what they had drunk; and the Commodore having, according to cuſtom, made the Mandarine a preſent, they all departed in the ſame veſſels that brought them.

After their departure, the Commodore, with great impatience, expected the reſolution of the council, and the proper licences to enable him to refit the ſhip. For it muſt be obſerved, as hath already appeared from the preceding narration, that the Chineſe were forbid to have any dealings with him, ſo that he could neither purchaſe ſtores nor neceſſaries, nor did any kind of workmen dare to engage themſelves in his ſervice, until the permiſſion of the government was firſt obtained. And, in the execution of theſe particular injunctions, the magiſtrates never fail of exerciſing great ſeverity; ſince, notwithſtanding the fuſtian eulogiums beſtowed upon them by the Romiſh miſſionaries reſiding in the Eaſt, and their European copiers, they are compoſed of the ſame fragile materials with the reſt of mankind, and often make uſe of the authority of the law, not to ſuppreſs crimes, but to enrich themſelves by the pillage of thoſe who commit them. This is the more eaſily effected in China, becauſe capital puniſhments are rare in that country; the effeminate genius of the nation, and their ſtrong attachment to lucre, diſpoſing them rather to make uſe of fines. And as from theſe there ariſes no inconſiderable profit to thoſe who compoſe their tribunals, it is obvious enough, that prohibitions of all kinds, particularly ſuch as the alluring proſpect of great profit may often tempt the ſubject to infringe, cannot but be favourite inſtitutions in ſuch a government.

A ſhort time before this, Captain Saunders took his paſſage to England on board a Swediſh ſhip, and was charged with diſpatches from the Commodore; and in the month of December, Captain Mitchell, Colonel Crocherode, and Mr. Taſwell, one of the agent victuallers, with his nephew Mr. Charles Herriot, embarked on board ſome of our company's ſhips; and I, having obtained the Commodore's leave to return home, embarked with them. I muſt obſerve too, having omitted it before, that, whilſt we lay at Macao, we were informed by the officers of our India men, that the Severn and Pearl, the two ſhips of our ſquadron which had ſeparated from us off Cape Noir, were ſafely arrived at Rio Janeiro on the coaſt of Brazil. I have formerly taken notice, that, at the time of their ſeparation, we ſuſpected them to be loſt; and there were many reaſons which greatly favoured this ſuſpicion; for we knew

that the Severn in particular was extremely ſickly, which was the more obvious to the reſt of the ſhips, as in the preceding part of the voyage, her commander, Captain Legg, had been remarkable for his exemplary punctuality in keeping his ſtation; and yet, during the laſt ten days before his ſeparation, his crew was ſo diminiſhed and enfeebled, that, with his utmoſt efforts, he could not poſſibly maintain his proper poſition with his wonted exactneſs. The extraordinary ſickneſs on board him was, by many, imputed to the ſhip, which was new, and, on that account, was believed to be the more unhealthy; but, whatever was the cauſe of it, the Severn was, by much, the moſt ſickly of the ſquadron: ſince, before her departure from St. Catharine's, ſhe buried more men than any of them, inſomuch, that the Commodore was obliged to recruit her with a number of freſh hands; and, the mortality ſtill continuing on board her, ſhe was ſupplied with men a ſecond time at ſea, after our ſetting ſail from St. Julian's; yet, notwithſtanding theſe different reinforcements, ſhe was, at laſt, reduced to the diſtreſſed condition I have already mentioned. Hence the Commodore himſelf firmly believed ſhe was loſt; and therefore it was with great joy we received the news of her and the Pearl's ſafety, after the ſtrong perſuaſion, which had ſo long prevailed amongſt us, of their having both periſhed. But, to proceed with the tranſactions between Mr. Anſon and the Chineſe.

Notwithſtanding the favourable diſpoſition of the Mandarine governor of Janſon, at his leaving Mr. Anſon, ſeveral days were elapſed before there was any advice from him, and Mr. Anſon was privately informed that there were great debates in council upon this affair; partly perhaps, owing to its being ſo unuſual a caſe, and, in part, to the influence, as I ſuppoſe, of the intrigues of the French at Canton: for they had a countryman and faſt friend reſiding on the ſpot, who ſpoke the language well, and was not unacquainted with the venality of the government, nor with the perſons of ſeveral of the magiſtrates, and conſequently could not be at a loſs for means of traverſing the aſſiſtance deſired by Mr. Anſon. Indeed this oppoſition of the French was not merely the effect of national prejudice, or a contrariety of political intereſt, but was,

in good meaſure, owing to vanity, a motive of much more weight with the generality of mankind, than any attachment to the public ſervice of the community. For the French, pretending their India men to be men of war, their officers were apprehenſive, that any diſtinction granted to Mr. Anſon, on account of his bearing the King's commiſſion, would render them leſs conſiderable in the eyes of the Chineſe, and would eſtabliſh prepoſſeſſions at Canton in favour of ſhips of war, by which they, as trading veſſels, would ſuffer in their importance. And I wiſh the affectation of endeavouring to paſs for men of war, and the fear of ſinking in the eſtimation of the Chineſe, if the Centurion was treated in a different manner from themſelves, had been confined to the officers of the French ſhips only. However, notwithſtanding all theſe obſtacles, it ſhould ſeem that the repreſentation of the Commodore to the Mandarines, of the facility with which he could right himſelf, if juſtice were denied him, had, at laſt, its effect: ſince, on the 6th of January, in the morning, the governor of Janſon, the Commodore's advocate, ſent down the viceroy of Canton's warrant for the refitment of the Centurion, and for ſupplying her people with all they wanted. Having now the neceſſary licenſes, a number of Chineſe ſmiths and carpenters went on board the next day, to treat about the work they were to do; all which they propoſed to undertake by the great. They demanded at firſt, to the amount of a thouſand pounds ſterling, for the repairs of the ſhip, the boats, and the maſts. This the Commodore ſeemed to think an unreaſonable ſum, and endeavoured to perſuade them to work by the day; but that was a method they would not hearken to; ſo it was at laſt agreed, that the carpenters ſhould have to the amount of ſix hundred pounds for their work; and that the ſmiths ſhould be paid for the iron work by weight, allowing them at the rate of three pounds a hundred nearly for the ſmall work, and forty ſix ſhillings for the large.

This being regulated, the Commodore next exerted himſelf to get the moſt important buſineſs of the whole completed; I mean, the heaving down the Centurion, and examining the ſtate of her bottom. The firſt lieutenant, therefore, was diſpatched to Canton, to hire two

country veſſels, called, in their language, Junks, one of them being intended to heave down by, and the other to ſerve as a magazine for the powder and ammunition; whilſt, at the ſame time, the ground was ſmoothed on one of the neighbouring iſlands, and a large tent was pitched for lodging the lumber and proviſions, and near a hundred Chineſe caulkers, were ſoon ſet to work on the decks and ſides of the ſhip. But all theſe preparations, and the getting ready the careening gear, took up a great deal of time; for the Chineſe caulkers, though they worked very well, were far from being expeditious. Beſides it was the 26th of January before the junks arrived, and the neceſſary materials, which were to be purchaſed at Canton, came down very ſlowly; partly from the diſtance of the place, and partly from the delays and backwardneſs of the Chineſe merchants. And, in this interval, Mr. Anſon had the additional perplexity to diſcover, that his fore maſt was broken aſunder above the upper deck partners, and was only kept together by the fiſhes which had been formerly clapt upon it.

However, the Centurion's people made the moſt of their time, and exerted themſelves the beſt they could: and as, by clearing the ſhip, the carpenters were enabled to come at the leak, they took care to ſecure it effectually, whilſt the other preparations were going forwards. The leak, which was found to be below the fifteen foot mark, was principally occaſioned by one of the bolts being wore away and looſe in the joining of the ſtern, where it was ſcarfed.

At laſt, all things being prepared, they, on the 22d of February, in the morning, hove out the firſt courſe of the Centurion's ſtarboard-ſide, and had the ſatisfaction to find, that her bottom appeared ſound and good; and the next day (having by that time completed the new ſheathing of the firſt courſe) they righted her again, to ſet up anew the careening gear, which had ſtretched much. Thus they continued heaving down and often righting the ſhip, from a ſuſpicion of their careening tackle, till the third of March, when having completed the paying and ſheathing of the bottom, which proved to be every where very ſound, they, for the laſt time, righted the ſhip, to their

great joy; ſince not only the fatigue of careening had been conſiderable, but they had been apprehenſive of being attacked by the Spaniards, whilſt the ſhip was thus incapacitated for defence. Nor were their fears altogether groundleſs; for they learned afterwards, by a Portugueſe veſſel, that the Spaniards at Manila had been informed, that the Centurion was in the Typa, and intended to careen there: and that thereupon the governor had ſummoned his council, and had propoſed to them to endeavour to burn her whilſt ſhe was careening, which was an enterpriſe which, if properly conducted, might have put them in great danger. It was further reported, that this ſcheme was not only propoſed, but reſolved on; and that a captain of a veſſel had actually undertaken to perform the buſineſs for forty thouſand dollars, which he was not to receive unleſs he ſucceeded; but the governor pretending that there was no treaſure in the royal cheſt, and inſiſting that the merchants ſhould advance the money, and they refuſing to comply with the demand, the affair was dropped. Perhaps the merchants ſuſpected that the whole was only a pretext to get forty thouſand dollars from them; and indeed this was affirmed by ſome who bore the governor no good will, but with what truth it is difficult to aſcertain.

As ſoon as the Centurion was righted, they took on board, her powder, and gunners ſtores, and proceeded with getting in their guns as faſt as poſſible, and then uſed their utmoſt expedition in repairing the fore-maſt, and in completing the other articles of her refitment. But whilſt they were thus employed, they were alarmed on the 10th of March, by a Chineſe fiſherman, who brought them intelligence, that he had been on board a large Spaniſh ſhip off the Grande Ladrone, and that there were two more in company with her. He added ſeveral particulars to his relation; as that he had brought one of their officers to Macao, and that, on this, boats went off early in the morning from Macao to them: and, the better to eſtabliſh the belief of his veracity, he ſaid, he deſired no money if his information ſhould not prove true. This was preſently believed to be the forementioned expedition from Manila; and the Commodore immediately fitted his cannon and ſmall arms in the beſt manner he could for defence; and having then his pinnace and cutter in the of-

fing, who had been ordered to examine a Portugueſe veſſel which was getting underſail, he ſent them the advice he had received, and directed them to look out ſtrictly. Indeed, no Spaniſh ſhips ever appeared, and they were ſoon ſatisfied the whole of the ſtory was a fiction; though it was difficult to conceive what reaſon could induce the fellow to be at ſuch extraordinary pains to impoſe upon them.

It was the beginning of April, when they had newrigged the ſhip, ſtowed their proviſions and water on board, and fitted her for the ſea; and before this time the Chineſe grew very uneaſy, and extremely deſirous that ſhe ſhould be gone, either not knowing, or pretending not to believe, that this was a point the Commodore was as eagerly ſet on as they could be. At length, about the 3d of April, two Mandarine boats came on board from Macao, to preſs him to leave their port: and this having been often urged before, though there had been no pretence to ſuſpect Mr. Anſon of any affected delays, he, at this laſt meſſage, anſwered them in a determined tone, deſiring them to give him no further trouble, for he would go when he thought proper, and not ſooner. After this rebuke, the Chineſe (though it was not in their power to compel him to depart) immediately prohibited all proviſions from being carried on board him; and took ſuch care their injunctions ſhould be complied with, that, from thenceforward, nothing could be purchaſed at any rate whatever.

The 6th of April, the Centurion weighed from the Typa, and warped to the ſouthward; and by the 15th, ſhe was got into Macao road, completing her water as ſhe paſſed along, ſo that there remained now very few articles more to attend to; and, her whole buſineſs being finiſhed by the 19th, ſhe, at three in the afternoon of that day, weighed and made ſail, and ſtood to ſea.

## CHAP. VIII.

*From* MACAO *to Cape* ESPIRITU SANTO: *the taking of the* MANILA *Galeon, and returning back again.*

THE Commodore was now got to ſea with his ſhip well refitted, his ſtores repleniſhed, and additional

ſtock of proviſions on board; his crew too was ſomewhat reinforced; for he had entered twenty three men during his ſtay at Macao, the greateſt part of them Laſcars, or Indian ſailors, and the reſt Dutch. He gave out at Macao, that he was bound to Batavia, and thence to England; and though the weſterly monſoon was now ſet in, when that paſſage is conſidered as impracticable, yet, by the confidence he had expreſſed in the ſtrength of his ſhip, and the dexterity of his hands, he had perſuaded, not only his own crew, but the people at Macao likewiſe, that he propoſed to try this unuſual experiment; ſo that there were many letters ſent on board him by the inhabitants of Canton and Macoa for their friends at Batavia.

But his real deſign was of a very different nature. For he ſuppoſed, that, inſtead of one annual ſhip from Acapulco to Manila, there would be this year, in all probability two; ſince by being before Acapulco, he had prevented one of them from putting to ſea the preceding ſeaſon. He therefore, not diſcouraged by his former diſaſters, reſolved again to riſk the caſualities of the Pacific ocean, and to cruiſe for theſe returning veſſels off Cape Eſpiritu Santo, on the iſland of Samal, which is the firſt land they always make at the Philippine iſlands: and as June is generally the month in which they arrive there, he doubted not but he ſhould get to his intended ſtation time enough to intercept them. It is true, they were ſaid to be ſtout veſſels, mounting forty four guns a piece, and carrying above five hundred hands, and might be expected to return in company; and he himſelf had but two hundred and twenty ſeven hands on board, of which near thirty were boys. But this diſproportion of ſtrength did not deter him, as he knew his ſhip to be much better fitted for a ſea engagement than theirs, and as he had reaſon to expect that his men would exert themſelves after a moſt extraordinary manner, when they had in view the immenſe wealth of theſe Manila galeons.

This project the Commodore had reſolved on in his own thoughts ever ſince his leaving the coaſt of Mexico. And the greateſt mortification which he received, from the various delays he had met with in China, was his apprehenſion, leſt he might be thereby ſo long retarded as to

let the galeons eſcape him. Indeed, at Macao, it was incumbent on him to keep theſe views extremely ſecret; for there being a great intercourſe, and a mutual connection of intereſts between that port and Manila, he had reaſon to fear, that, if his deſigns were diſcovered, intelligence would be immediately ſent to Manila, and meaſures would be taken to prevent the galeons from falling into his hands. But, being now at ſea, and entirely clear of the coaſt, he ſummoned all his people on the quarter deck, and informed them of his reſolution to cruiſe for the two Manila ſhips, of whoſe wealth they were not ignorant: he told them he ſhould chuſe a ſtation where he could not fail of meeting with them; and though they were ſtout ſhips, and full manned, yet, if his own people behaved with their accuſtomed ſpirit, he was certain he ſhould prove too hard for them both, and that one of them at leaſt could not fail of becoming his prize. He further added, that many ridiculous tales had been propagated, about the ſtrength of the ſides of theſe ſhips, and their being impenetrable to cannon ſhot: that theſe fictions had been principally invented to palliate the cowardice of thoſe who had formerly engaged them; but he hoped there were none of thoſe preſent, weak enough to give credit to ſo abſurd a ſtory; for his own part he did aſſure them, upon his word, that whenever he fell in with them, he would fight them ſo near, that they ſhould find his bullets, inſtead of being ſtopped by one of their ſides, ſhould go through them both.

This ſpeech of the Commodore was received by his people with great joy: ſince no ſooner had he ended, than they expreſſed their approbation, according to naval cuſtom, by three ſtrenuous cheers; and declared their determination to ſucceed or periſh, whenever the opportunity preſented itſelf. Immediately too, their hopes, which, on their departure from the coaſt of Mexico, had entirely ſubſided, were again revived; and they perſuaded themſelves, that, notwithſtanding the various caſualities and diſappointments they had hitherto met with, they ſhould yet be repaid the price of their fatigues, and ſhould at laſt return home enriched with the ſpoils of the enemy. For firmly relying on the aſſurances of the Commodore, that they ſhould certainly meet with the galeons, they were all of them too ſanguine to doubt a moment of maſtering

them; ſo that they conſidered themſelves as having them already in their poſſeſſion. And this confidence was ſo univerſally ſpread through the whole ſhip's company, that the Commodore, who had taken ſome Chineſe ſheep to ſea with him for his own proviſion, inquiring one day of his butcher, why he had lately ſeen no mutton at his table, and aſking him, if all the ſheep were killed, the fellow very ſeriouſly replied, that there were indeed two ſheep left, but that, if his honour would give him leave, he propoſed to keep thoſe for the entertainment of the general of the galeons.

When the Centurion left the port of Macao, ſhe ſtood for ſome time to the weſtward: and, on the 1ſt of May, they ſaw part of the iſland of Formoſa, and ſteering thence to the ſouthward, they, on the 4th of May, were in the latitude of the Baſhee iſlands, as laid down by Dampier; but they ſuſpected his account of inaccuracy, as they knew that he had been conſiderably miſtaken in the latitude of the ſouth end of Formoſa: and therefore they kept a good look out, and about ſeven in the evening, diſcovered, from the maſt head, five ſmall iſlands, which were judged to be the Baſhees. As they afterwards ſaw Botel Tobago Xima, they, by this means, found an opportunity of correcting the poſition of the Baſhee iſlands, which had been hitherto laid down twenty five leagues too far to the weſtward; for by their obſervations, they eſteemed the middle of theſe iſlands to be in 21°: 4′ north, and to bear from Botel Tobago Xima, S. S. E. twenty leagues diſtant, that iſland itſelf being in 21°: 57′ north.

After getting a ſight of the Baſhee iſlands, they ſtood between the S. and S. W. for Cape Eſpiritu Santo; and the 20th of May, at noon, they firſt diſcovered that Cape, which about four o'clock they brought to bear S. S. W. near eleven leagues diſtant. It appeared to be of a moderate height, with ſeveral round hummocks on it, and is exactly repreſented in the XL. plate. As it was known that there were centinels placed on this Cape, to make ſignals to the Acapulco ſhip, when ſhe firſt falls in with the land; the Commodore immediately tacked, and ordered the top gallant ſails to be taken in, to prevent being diſcovered. And this being the ſtation where it was reſolv-

ed to cruiſe for the galeons, they kept the Cape between the ſouth and the weſt, and endeavoured to confine themſelves between the latitude of 12° : 50′ and 13 : 5′, the Cape itſelf lying, by their obſervations, in 12° : 40′ north, and in 4° of eaſt longitude from Botel Tobago Xima.

It was the laſt of May, by the foreign ſtyle, when they arrived off this Cape; and the month of June, by the ſame ſtyle, being that in which the Manila ſhips are uſually expected, the Centurion's people were now waiting each hour with the utmoſt impatience for the happy criſis, which was to balance the account of all their paſt calamities. As from this time there was but ſmall employment for the crew, the Commodore ordered them, almoſt every day, to be exerciſed in the working of the great guns, and in the uſe of their ſmall arms. This had been his practice more or leſs at every convenient ſeaſon, during the whole courſe of his voyage; and the advantages which he received from it, in his engagement with the galeon, were an ample recompence for all his care and attention. Indeed it ſhould ſeem, that there are few particulars of a commander's duty of more importance, how much ſoever it may have been ſometimes overlooked or miſunderſtood: ſince it will, I ſuppoſe, be confeſſed, that in two ſhips of war, equal in the number of their men and guns, the diſproportion of ſtrength, ariſing from a greater or leſs dexterity in the uſe of their great guns and ſmall arms, is what can ſcarcely be balanced by any other circumſtances whatever. For as theſe are the weapons with which they are to engage, what greater inequality can there be betwixt two contending parties, than that one ſide ſhould perfectly underſtand the management of them, and ſhould have the ſkill to employ them in the moſt effectual manner for the annoyance of their enemy; while the other ſide ſhould, by their aukward handling of their arms, render them rather terrible to themſelves, than miſchievous to their antagoniſts? This ſeems ſo obvious and natural a concluſion, that a perſon unacquainted with theſe matters would ſuppoſe the firſt care of a commander to be, the training his people to the ready uſe of their arms.

But human affairs are not always conducted by the plain dictates of common ſenſe. There are many other

principles which influence our tranſactions; and there is one in particular, which, though of a very erroneous complexion, is ſcarcely ever excluded from our moſt ſerious deliberations; I mean cuſtom, or the practice of thoſe who have preceded us. This is uſually a power too mighty for reaſon to grapple with, and is often extremely troubleſome to thoſe who oppoſe it, ſince it has much of ſuperſtition in its nature, and purſues all thoſe who queſtion its authority with unrelenting vehemence. However, in theſe latter ages of the world, ſome lucky encroachments have been made upon its prerogative; and it may ſurely be expected, that the gentlemen of the navy, whoſe particular profeſſion hath within a few years been conſiderably improved by a number of new inventions, will, of all others, be the readieſt to give up any uſage which hath nothing to plead in its behalf but preſcription, and will not ſuppoſe that every branch of their buſineſs hath already received all the perfection of which it is capable. Indeed it muſt be owned, that if a dexterity in the uſe of the ſmall arms, for inſtance, hath been ſometimes leſs attended to on board our ſhips of war than might have been wiſhed for, it hath been rather owing to unſkilful methods of teaching it, than to negligence; ſince the common ſailors, how ſtrongly ſoever attached to their own prejudices, are very quick ſighted in finding out the defects of others, and have ever ſhewn a great contempt for the formalities practiſed in the training of land troops to the uſe of their arms. But when thoſe who have undertaken to inſtruct the ſeamen, have contented themſelves with inculcating only what was uſeful in the ſimpleſt manner; they have conſtantly found their people ſufficiently docile, and the ſucceſs hath even exceeded their expectation. Thus on board Mr. Anſon's ſhip, where they were taught no more of the manual exerciſe than the ſhorteſt method of loading with cartridges, and were conſtantly trained to fire at a mark, which was uſually hung at the yard arm, and where ſome little reward was given to the moſt expert, the whole crew, by this management, were rendered extremely ſkilful. For beſides an uncommon readineſs in loading, they were all of them good markſmen, and ſome of them moſt extraordinary ones. Whence I doubt not but, in the uſe of ſmall arms, they were more than a match for double their number, who had not been habituated to the ſame kind of exerciſe. But to return;

It was the laſt of May, N. S. as hath been already ſaid, when the Centurion arrived off Cape Eſpiritu Santo; and conſequently the next day the month began, in which the galeons were to be expected. The Commodore therefore made all neceſſary preparations for receiving them, hoiſting out his long boat, and laſhing her along-ſide, that the ſhip might be ready for engaging, if they fell in with the galeons during the night. All this time too, he was very ſolicitous to keep at ſuch a diſtance from the Cape as not to be diſcovered. But it hath been ſince learned, that, notwithſtanding his care, he was ſeen from the land, and advice of him was ſent to Manila, where, though it was at firſt diſbelieved, yet on reiterated intelligence, (for it ſeems he was ſeen more than once) the merchants were alarmed, and the governor was applied to, who undertook, (the commerce ſupplying the neceſſary ſums) to fit out a force, conſiſting of two ſhips of thirty two guns, one of twenty guns, and two ſloops of ten guns each, to attack the Centurion on her ſtation. With this view, ſome of theſe veſſels actually weighed; but the principal ſhip not being ready, and the monſoon being againſt them, the commerce and the governor diſagreed, ſo that the enterprize was laid aſide. This frequent diſcovery of the Centurion from the ſhore was ſomewhat extraordinary; ſince the pitch of the Cape is not high, and ſhe uſually kept from ten to fifteen leagues diſtant, though once indeed, by an indraught of the tide, as was ſuppoſed, they found themſelves in the morning within ſeven leagues of the land.

As the month of June advanced, the expectancy and impatience of the Commodore's people each day increaſed. And I think no better idea can be given of their great eagerneſs on this occaſion, than by copying a few paragraphs from the journal of an officer, who was then on board, as it will, I preſume, be a more natural picture of the full attachment of their thoughts to the buſineſs of their cruiſe, than can be given by any other means. The paragraphs I have ſelected, as they occur in order of time, are as follow.

"May 31ſt, exerciſing our men at their quarters, in "great expectation of meeting with the galeons very ſoon, "this being the 11th of June their ſtyle.

"June 3d, keeping in our ſtation, and looking out for "the galeons.

"June 5th, begin to be now in great expectation, this "being the middle of June their ſtyle.

"June 11th, begin to grow impatient at not ſeeing the "galeons.

"June 13th, the wind having blown freſh eaſterly for "the forty eight hours paſt, gives us great expectations "of ſeeing the galeons ſoon.

"June 15th, cruiſing on and off, and looking out "ſtrictly.

"June 19th, this being the laſt day of June, N. S. the "galeons, if they arrive at all, muſt appear ſoon."

From theſe ſamples it is ſufficiently evident, how completely the treaſure of the galeons had engroſſed their imagination, and how anxiouſly they paſſed the latter part of their cruiſe; when the certainty of the arrival of thoſe veſſels was dwindled down to probability only, and that probability became each hour more and more doubtful. However, on the 20th of June O. S. being juſt a month after their gaining their ſtation, they were relieved out of this ſtate of uncertainty: for at ſun riſe, they diſcovered a ſail from the maſt head, in the S E. quarter. On this a general joy ſpread through the whole ſhip; for they had no doubt but this was one of the galeons, and they expected ſoon to deſcry the other. The Commodore inſtantly ſtood towards her, and, at half an hour after ſeven, they were near enough to ſee her from the Centurion's deck; at which time the galeon fired a gun, and took in her top-gallant ſails; this was ſuppoſed to be a ſignal to her conſort to haſten her up; and therefore the Centurion fired a gun to the leeward to amuſe her. The Commodore was ſurpriſed to find, that during all this interval the galeon did not change her courſe, but continued to bear down upon him; for he hardly believed what afterwards appeared to be the caſe, that ſhe knew his ſhip to be the Centurion, and reſolved to fight him.

About noon the Commodore was little more than a league diſtant from the galeon, and could fetch her wake, ſo that ſhe could not now eſcape; and no ſecond ſhip appearing, it was concluded that ſhe had been ſeparated

from her conſort. Soon after, the galeon haled up her fore ſail, and brought to under top ſails, with her head to the northward, hoiſting Spaniſh colours, and having the ſtandard of Spain flying at the top-gallant maſt-head. Mr. Anſon, in the mean time, had prepared all things for an engagement on board the Centurion, and had taken every poſſible meaſure, both for the moſt effectual exertion of his ſmall ſtrength, and for the avoiding the confuſion and tumult, too frequent in actions of this kind. He picked out about thirty of his choiceſt hands, and beſt marksmen, whom he diſtributed into his tops, and who fully anſwered his expectation, by the ſignal ſervices they performed. As he had not hands enough remaining, to quarter a ſufficient number to each great gun, in the cuſtomary manner; he therefore, on his lower tire, fixed only two men to each gun, who were to be ſolely employed in loading it, whilſt the reſt of his people were divided into different gangs of ten or twelve men each, who were continually moving about the decks, to run out and fire ſuch guns as were loaded. By this management he was enabled to make uſe of all his guns; and inſtead of whole broad ſides, with intervals between them, he kept up a conſtant fire without intermiſſion, whence he doubted not to procure very ſignal advantages. For it is common with the Spaniards to fall down upon the decks when they ſee a broad ſide preparing, and to continue in that poſture till it is given; after which, they riſe again, and preſuming the danger to be for ſome time over, work their guns, and fire with great briſkneſs till another broad ſide is ready: but the firing gun by gun, in the manner directed by the Commodore, rendered this practice of theirs impoſſible.

The Centurion being thus prepared, and nearing the galeon apace, there happened, a little after noon, ſeveral ſqualls of wind and rain, which often obſcured the galeon from their ſight; but, whenever it cleared up, they obſerved her reſolutely lying to. Towards one o'clock, the Centurion hoiſted her broad pendant and colours, ſhe being then within gun ſhot of the enemy; and the Commodore perceiving the Spaniards to have neglected clearing their ſhip till that time, as he ſaw them throwing overboard cattle and lumber, he gave orders to fire upon them.

with the chace guns, to diſturb them in their work, and prevent them from completing it, though his general directions had been, not to engage before they were within piſtol ſhot. The galeon returned the fire with two of her ſtern chace: and, the Centurion getting her ſprit ſail yard fore and aft, that, if neceſſary, ſhe might be ready for boarding, the Spaniards, in a bravado, rigged their ſprit-ſail yard fore and aft likewiſe. Soon after, the Centurion came a breaſt of the enemy within piſtol ſhot, keeping to the leeward of them, with a view of preventing their putting before the wind, and gaining the port of Jalapay, from which they were about ſeven leagues diſtant. And now the engagement began in earneſt, and for the firſt half hour, Mr. Anſon over-reached the galeon, and lay on her bow, where, by the great wideneſs of his ports, he could traverſe almoſt all his guns upon the enemy, whilſt the galeon could only bring a part of her's to bear. Immediately on the commencement of the action, the mats, with which the galeon had ſtuffed her netting, took fire, and burnt violently, blazing up half as high as the mizen top. This accident, ſuppoſed to be cauſed by the Centurion's wads, threw the enemy into the utmoſt terror, and alſo alarmed the Commodore, for he feared leſt the galeon ſhould be burnt, and leſt he himſelf too might ſuffer by her driving on board him. However, the Spaniards at laſt freed themſelves from the fire, by cutting away the netting, and tumbling the whole maſs, which was on flames, into the ſea. All this interval, the Centurion kept her firſt advantageous poſition, firing her cannon with great regularity and briſkneſs, whilſt at the ſame time, the galeon's decks lay open to her top men, who having, at their firſt volley, driven the Spaniards from their tops, made a prodigious havock with their ſmall arms, killing or wounding every officer but one that appeared on the quarter-deck, and wounding, in particular, the general of the galeon himſelf. Thus the action proceeded for at leaſt half an hour; but then the Centurion loſt the ſuperiority, ariſing from her original ſituation, and was cloſe along ſide the galeon, and the enemy continued to fire briſkly for near an hour longer; yet, even in this poſture, the Commodore's grape ſhot ſwept their decks ſo effectually, and the number of their ſlain and wounded became ſo conſiderable, that they began to fall into great diſorder, eſpecially as the general, who

was the life of the action, was no longer capable of exerting himſelf. Their confuſion was viſible from on board the Commodore. For the ſhips were ſo near, that ſome of the Spaniſh officers were ſeen running about with much aſſiduity, to prevent the deſertion of their men from their quarters; but all their endeavours were in vain: for after having, as a laſt effort, fired five or ſix guns with more judgement than uſual, they yielded up the conteſt; and, the galeon's colours being ſinged off the enſign ſtaff in the beginning of the engagement, ſhe ſtruck the ſtandard at her main top gallant maſt head: the perſon who was employed to perform this office having been in imminent peril of being killed, had not the Commodore, who perceived what he was about, given expreſs orders to his people to deſiſt from firing.

Thus was the Centurion poſſeſſed of this rich prize, amounting, in value, to near a million and an half of dollars. She was called the Noſtra Signora de Cabadonga, and was commanded by general Don Jeronima de Mentero, a Portugueſe, who was the moſt approved officer for ſkill and courage of any employed in that ſervice. The galeon was much larger than the Centurion, and had five hundred and fifty men, and thirty-ſix guns mounted for action, beſides twenty-eight pedreroes in her gun-wale, quarters and tops, each of which carried a four pound ball. She was very well furniſhed with ſmall arms, and was particularly provided againſt boarding, both by her cloſe quarters, and by a ſtrong net work of two inch rope, which was laced over her waſte, and was defended by half pikes. She had ſixty ſeven men killed in the action, and eighty four wounded, whilſt the Centurion had only two men killed, and a lieutenant and ſixteen wounded, all of whom but one recovered; of ſo little conſequence are the moſt deſtructive arms in untutored and unpractiſed hands.

The treaſure thus taken by the Centurion having been, for at leaſt eighteen months, the great object of their hopes, it is impoſſible to deſcribe the tranſport on board, when, after all their reiterated diſappointments, they at laſt ſaw their wiſhes accompliſhed. But their joy was near being ſuddenly damped by a moſt tremendous incident; for, no-

ſooner had the galeon ſtruck, than one of the lieutenants coming to Mr. Anſon to congratulate him on his prize, whiſpered him at the ſame time, that the Centurion was dangerouſly on fire near the powder room. The Commodore received this dreadful news without any apparent emotion, and, taking care not to alarm his people, gave the neceſſary orders for extinguiſhing the fire, which was happily done in a ſhort time, though its appearance at firſt was extremely terrible. It ſeems ſome cartridges had been blown up by accident between decks, and the blaſt had communicated its flame to a quantity of oakum in the after-hatch way, near the after powder room, where the great ſmother and ſmoke of the oakum occaſioned the apprehenſion of a more extended and miſchievous conflagration: all hopes too of avoiding its fury, by eſcaping on board the prize, had inſtantly vaniſhed; for, at the ſame moment, the galeon fell on board the Centurion on the ſtarboard quarter, though ſhe was fortunately cleared, without doing or receiving any conſiderable damage.

The Commodore appointed the Manila veſſel to be a poſt ſhip in his Majeſty's ſervice, and gave the command of her to Mr. Saumarez, his firſt lieutenant, who, before night, ſent on board the Centurion all the Spaniſh priſoners, except ſuch as were thought the moſt proper to be retained to aſſiſt in navigating the galeon. And now the Commodore learned, from ſome of theſe priſoners, that the other ſhip which he had kept in the port of Acapulco the preceding year, inſtead of returning in company with the preſent prize, as was expected, had ſet ſail from Acapulco alone, much ſooner than uſual, and had, in all probability, got into the port of Manila long before the Centurion arrived off Cape Eſpiritu Santo; ſo that Mr. Anſon, notwithſtanding his preſent ſucceſs, had great reaſon to regret his loſs of time at Macao, which prevented him from taking two rich prizes inſtead of one.

The Commodore, when the action was ended, reſolved to make the beſt of his way with his prize for the river of Canton, being, in the mean time, fully employed in ſecuring his priſoners, and in removing the treaſure from on board the galeon into the Centurion. The laſt of theſe operations was too important to be poſtponed; for as the

navigation to Canton was through ſeas but little known, and where, from the ſeaſon of the year, very tempeſtuous weather might be expected, it was of great conſequence that the treaſure ſhould be ſent on board the Centurion, which ſhip, by the preſence of the commander in chief, the larger number of her hands, and her other advantages, was doubtleſs better provided againſt all the caſualities of wind and ſeas than the galeon; and the ſecuring the priſoners was a matter of ſtill more conſequence, as not only the poſſeſſion of the treaſure, but the lives of the captors depended thereon. This was indeed an article which gave the Commodore much trouble and diſquietude, for they were above double the number of his own people; and ſome of them, when they were brought on board the Centurion, and had obſerved how ſlenderly ſhe was manned, and the large proportion which the ſtriplings bore to the reſt, could not help expreſſing themſelves with great indignation to be thus beaten by a handful of boys. The method which was taken to hinder them from riſing was, by placing all but the officers and the wounded in the hold, where, to give them as much air as poſſible, two hatchways were left open; but then (to avoid any danger that might happen, whilſt the Centurion's people ſhould be employed upon deck) there was a ſquare partition of thick planks made in the ſhape of a funnel, which incloſed each hatch way on the lower deck, and reached to that directly over it on the upper deck; theſe funnels ſerved to communicate the air to the hold better than could have been done without them, and at the ſame time added greatly to the ſecurity of the ſhip; for they being ſeven or eight feet high, it would have been extremely difficult for the Spaniards to have clambered up; and ſtill to augment that difficulty, four ſwivel guns loaded with muſket bullets, were planted at the mouth of each funnel, and a centinel, with a lighted match, was poſted there, ready to fire into the hold amongſt them, in caſe of any diſturbance. Their officers, who amounted to ſeventeen or eighteen, were all lodged in the firſt lieutenant's cabin under a guard of ſix men; and the general, as he was wounded, lay in the Commodore's cabin, with a centinel always with him: every priſoner too was ſufficiently appriſed, that any violence or diſturbance would be puniſhed with inſtant death. And, that the Centurion's people might be at all times

prepared, if, notwithſtanding theſe regulations, any tumult ſhould ariſe, the ſmall arms were conſtantly kept loaded in a proper place, whilſt all the men went armed with cutlaſſes and piſtols; and no officer pulled off his clothes when he ſlept, or, when he lay down, omitted to have his arms always ready by him.

Theſe meaſures were obviouſly neceſſary, conſidering the hazards to which the Commodore and his people would have been expoſed, had they been leſs careful. Indeed the ſufferings of the poor priſoners, though impoſſible to be alleviated, were much to be commiſerated; for the weather was extremely hot, the ſtench of the hold loathſome beyond all conception, and their allowance of water but juſt ſufficient to keep them alive, it not being practicable to ſpare them more than at the rate of a pint a day for each, the crew themſelves having only an allowance of a pint and an half. All this conſidered, it was wonderful that not a man of them died during their long confinement, except three of the wounded, who expired the ſame night they were taken; tho' it muſt be confeſſed, that the greateſt part of them were ſtrangely metamorphoſed by the heat of the hold; for when they were firſt brought on board, they were ſightly robuſt fellows; but when, after above a month's impriſonment, they were diſcharged in the river of Canton, they were reduced to mere ſkeletons; and their air and looks correſponded much more to the conception formed of ghoſts and ſpectres, than to the figure and appearance of real men.

Thus employed in ſecuring the treaſure and the priſoners, the Commodore, as hath been ſaid, ſtood for the river of Canton; and on the 30th of June, at ſix in the evening, got ſight of Cape Delangano, which then bore weſt ten leagues diſtant. The next day he made the Baſhee iſlands, and the wind being ſo far to the northward, that it was difficult to weather them, it was reſolved to ſtand through between Grafton and Monmouth iſlands, where the paſſage ſeemed to be clear, though in getting through, the ſea had a very dangerous aſpect; for it ripled and foamed, with all the appearance of being full of breakers, which was ſtill more terrible as it was then night. But the ſhip got through very ſafe, the prize keeping a-head;

and it was found, that the agitation of the ſea, which had alarmed them, had been occaſioned only by a ſtrong tide. I muſt here obſerve, that though the Baſhee iſlands are uſually reckoned to be no more than five, yet, there are many more lying about them to the weſtward, which, ſeeing the channels amongſt them are not at all known, makes it adviſable for ſhips rather to paſs to the northward or ſouthward than through them; as indeed the Commodore propoſed to have gone to the northward, between them and Formoſa, had it been poſſible for him to have weathered them. From hence the Centurion ſteering the proper courſe for the river of Canton, ſhe, on the 8th of July, diſcovered the iſland of Supata, the weſtermoſt of the Lema iſlands, being the double peeked rock particularly delineated in the view of the iſlands of Lema, formerly referred to. This iſland of Supata they made to be a hundred and thirty nine leagues diſtant from Grafton's iſland, and to bear from it north, 82°: 37′ weſt: and on the 11th, having taken on board two Chineſe pilots, one for the Centurion and the other for the prize, they came to an anchor off the city of Macao.

By this time the particulars of the cargo of the galeon were well aſcertained; and it was found, that ſhe had on board 1,313,843 pieces of eight, and 35,682 oz of virgin ſilver, beſides ſome cochineal, and a few other commodities, which, however, were but of ſmall account in compariſon of the ſpecie. And this being the Commodore's laſt prize, it hence appears that all the treaſure taken by the Centurion, was not much ſhort of L. 400,000, independent of the ſhips and merchandiſe which ſhe either burnt or deſtroyed, and which, by the moſt reaſonable eſtimation, could not amount to ſo little as L. 600,000 more; ſo that the whole damage done the enemy by our ſquadron, did doubtleſs exceed a million ſterling. To which, if there be added the great expence of the court of Spain, in fitting out Pizarro, and in paying the additional charges in America, incurred on our account, together with the loſs of their men of war, the total of all theſe articles will be a moſt exorbitant ſum; and is the ſtrongeſt conviction of the utility of this expedition, which, with all its numerous diſadvantages, did yet prove ſo extremely prejudicial to the enemy. I ſhall only add, that there was

found on board the galeon ſeveral draughts and journals, from ſome of which many of the particulars recited in the tenth chapter of the ſecond book are collected. Among the reſt, there was found a chart of all the ocean between the Philippines and the coaſt of Mexico, which was what was made uſe of by the galeon in her own navigation. A copy of this draught, corrected in ſome places by our own obſervations, is here annexed, together with the route of the galeon, traced thereon from her own journals, and likewiſe the route of the Centurion through the ſame ocean. This is the chart formerly referred to in the account of the Manila trade: but to render it ſtill more complete, the obſerved variation of the needle is annexed to ſeveral parts, both of the Spaniſh and Engliſh tracts; which addition is of the greateſt conſequence, as no obſervation of this kind, in the northern parts of the Pacific ocean, have yet, to my knowledge, been publiſhed; and as the quantity of that variation ſo nearly correſponds to what Dr. Hally predicted from his theory above fifty years ago. With this digreſſion, I ſhall end this chapter, and leave the Centurion and her prize at anchor off Macao, preparing to enter the river of Canton.

## CHAP. IX.

### *Tranſactions in the River of* Canton.

THE Commodore having taken pilots on board, proceeded with his prize for the river of Canton: and, on the 14th of July, caſt anchor ſhort of the Bocca Tigris, which is a narrow paſſage forming the mouth of that river. This entrance he propoſed to ſtand through the next day, and to run up as far as Tiger iſland, which is a very ſafe road, ſecured from all winds. But whilſt the Centurion and her prize were thus at anchor, a boat with an officer was ſent off from the Mandarine, commanding the forts at Bocca Tigris, to examine what the ſhips were, and whence they came. Mr. Anſon informed the officer, that his own ſhip was a man of war, belonging to the king of Great Britain, and that the other in company with him was a prize he had taken; that he was going into Canton river to ſhelter himſelf againſt the hurricanes which were then

approaching; and that as ſoon as the monſoon ſhifted, he ſhould ſet ſail for England. The officer then deſired an account of what men, guns, and ammunition were on board, a liſt of which, he ſaid, was to be ſent to the government of Canton. But when theſe articles were repeated to him, particularly upon his being told that there were in the Centurion four hundred firelocks, and between three and four hundred barrels of powder, he ſhrugged up his ſhoulders, and ſeemed to be terrified with the bare recital, ſaying, that no ſhip ever came into Canton river armed in that manner; adding, that he durſt not ſet down the whole of this force, leſt it ſhould too much alarm the regency. After he had finiſhed his inquiries, and was preparing to depart, he deſired to leave two cuſtom houſe officers behind him; on which the Commodore told him, that tho', as a man of war, he was prohibited from trading, and had nothing to do with cuſtoms or duties of any kind; yet, for the ſatisfaction of the Chineſe, he would permit two of their people to be left on board, who might themſelves be witneſſes how punctually he ſhould comply with his inſtructions. The officer ſeemed amazed when Mr. Anſon mentioned being exempted from all duties; and anſwered, that the Emperor's duty muſt be paid by every ſhip that came into his ports. And it is ſuppoſed that, on this occaſion, private directions were given by him to the Chineſe pilot, not to carry the Commodore through the Bocca Tigris, which makes it neceſſary more particularly to deſcribe that entrance.

The Bocca Tigris is a narrow paſſage, little more than muſket ſhot over, formed by two points of land, on each of which there is a fort; that on the ſtarboard ſide being a battery on the water's edge, with eighteen embraſures, but where there were no more than twelve iron cannon mounted, ſeeming to be four or ſix pounders: the fort on the larboard ſide, is a large caſtle, reſembling thoſe old buildings which here in England we often find diſtinguiſhed by that name; it is ſituated on a high rock, and did not appear to be furniſhed with more than eight or ten cannon, none of which were ſuppoſed to exceed ſix pounders. Theſe are the defences which ſecure the river of Canton, and which the Chineſe (extremely defective in all military

ſkill) have imagined were ſufficient to prevent an enemy from forcing his way through.

But it is obvious, from the deſcription of theſe forts, that they could have given no obſtruction to Mr. Anſon's paſſage, even if they had been well ſupplied with gunners and ſtores; and therefore, though the pilot, after the Chineſe officer had been on board, refuſed at firſt to take charge of the ſhip, till he had leave from the forts; yet, as it was neceſſary to get through without any delay, for fear of the bad weather which was hourly expected, the Commodore weighed on the 15th, and ordered the pilot to carry him by the forts, threatening him that if the ſhip ran a ground he would inſtantly hang him up at the yard-arm. The pilot, awed by theſe threats, carried the ſhip through ſafely, the forts not attempting to diſpute the paſſage. Indeed the poor pilot did not eſcape the reſentment of his countrymen; for when he came on ſhore, he was ſeized and ſent to priſon, and was rigorouſly diſciplined with the bamboo. However, he found means to get at Mr. Anſon afterwards, to deſire of him ſome recompence for the chaſtiſement he had undergone, and of which he carried very ſignificant marks about him: Mr. Anſon, therefore, in commiſeration of his ſufferings, gave him ſuch a ſum of money, as would at any time have enticed a Chineſe to have undergone a dozen baſtinadings.

Nor was the pilot the only perſon that ſuffered on this occaſion; for the Commodore, ſoon after, ſeeing ſome royal junks paſs by him from Bocca Tigris towards Canton, he learned, on inquiry, that the Mandarine commanding the forts, was a priſoner on board them, that he was already turned out, and was now carrying to Canton, where it was expected he would be ſeverely puniſhed for having permitted the ſhips to paſs. Upon the Commodore's urging the unreaſonableneſs of this procedure, from the inability of the forts to have done otherwiſe, and explaining to the Chineſe the great ſuperiority his ſhips would have had over the forts, by the number and ſize of their guns, the Chineſe ſeemed to acquieſce in his reaſoning, and allowed, that their forts could not have ſtopped him; but they ſtill aſſerted, that the Mandarine would infallibly ſuffer, for not having done what all his judges

were convinced was impoſſible. To ſuch indefenſible abſurdities are thoſe obliged to ſubmit, who think themſelves concerned to ſupport their authority, when the neceſſary force is wanting. But to return;

On the 16th of July, the Commodore ſent his ſecond lieutenant to Canton with a letter to the Viceroy, informing him of the reaſon of the Centurion's putting into that port; and that the Commodore himſelf ſoon propoſed to repair to Canton, to pay a viſit to his excellency. The lieutenant was very civilly received, and was promiſed that an anſwer ſhould be ſent to the Commodore the next day. In the mean time Mr. Anſon gave leave to ſeveral of the officers of the galeon to go to Canton, they engaging their parole to return in two days. When theſe priſoners got to Canton, the regency ſent for them and examined them, inquiring, particularly, by what means they came into Mr. Anſon's power. It luckily happened, that, on this occaſion, the priſoners were honeſt enough to declare, that as the kings of Great Britain and Spain were at war, they had propoſed to themſelves the taking of the Centurion, and had bore down upon her with that view, but that the event had been contrary to their hopes. And, being queſtioned as to their uſage on board, they frankly acknowledged, that they had been treated by the Commodore much better than they believed they ſhould have treated him, had he fallen into their hands. This confeſſion from an enemy had great weight with the Chineſe, who, till then, tho' they had revered the Commodore's military force, had yet ſuſpected his morals, and had conſidered him rather as a lawleſs freebooter, than as one commiſſioned by the ſtate for the revenge of public injuries. But they now changed their opinion, and regarded him as a more important perſon: to which, perhaps, the vaſt treaſure of his prize might not a little contribute; the acquiſition of wealth being a matter greatly adapted to the eſteem and reverence of the Chineſe nation.

In this examination of the Spaniſh priſoners, though the Chineſe had no reaſon in the main to doubt of the account which was given them, yet there were two circumſtances which appeared to them ſo ſingular, as to deſerve a more ample explanation; one of them was the great

diſproportion of men between the Centurion and the galeon; the other was, the humanity with which the people of the galeon were treated after they were taken. The Mandarines therefore aſked the Spaniards, how they came to be overpowered by ſo inferior a force? and how it happened, ſince the two nations were at war, that they were not put to death when they fell into the hands of the Engliſh? To the firſt of the inquiries the Spaniards anſwered, That though they had more men than the Centurion, yet ſhe being intended ſolely for war, had a great ſuperiority in the ſize of her guns, and in many other articles, over the galeon, which was a veſſel fitted out principally for traffic; and, as to the ſecond queſtion, they told the Chineſe, that amongſt the nations of Europe, it was not cuſtomary to put to death thoſe who ſubmitted; though they readily owned, that the Commodore, from the natural bias of his temper, had treated both them and their countrymen, who had formerly been in his power, with very unuſual courteſy, much beyond what they could have expected, or than was required by the cuſtoms eſtabliſhed between nations at war with each other. Theſe replies fully ſatisfied the Chineſe, and, at the ſame time, wrought very powerfully in the Commodore's favour.

On the 20th of July, in the morning, three mandarines, with a great number of boats, and a vaſt retinue, came on board the Centurion, and delivered to the Commodore the viceroy of Canton's order for a daily ſupply of proviſions, and for pilots to carry the ſhips up the river as far as the ſecond bar; and, at the ſame time, they delivered him a meſſage from the viceroy, in anſwer to that ſent to Canton. The ſubſtance of the meſſage was, that the viceroy deſired to be excuſed from receiving the Commodore's viſit during the then exceſſive hot weather; becauſe the aſſembling the Mandarines and ſoldiers neceſſary to that ceremony, would prove extremely inconvenient and fatiguing; but that in September, when the weather would be more temperate, he ſhould be glad to ſee both the Commodore himſelf, and the Engliſh captain of the other ſhip that was with him. As Mr. Anſon knew that an expreſs had been diſpatched to the court at Pekin, with an account of the Centurion and her prize being arrived in the river of Canton, he had no doubt, but the principal

motive for putting off this viſit was, that the regency of Canton might gain time to receive the emperor's inſtructions about their behaviour on this unuſual affair.

When the Mandarines had delivered their meſſage, they began to talk to the Commodore about the duties to be paid by his ſhips: but he immediately told them, that he would never ſubmit to any demand of that kind; that, as he neither brought any merchandiſe thither, nor intended to carry any away, he could not be reaſonably deemed within the meaning of the emperor's orders, which were doubtleſs calculated for trading veſſels only; adding that no duties were ever demanded of men of war, by nations accuſtomed to their reception, and that his maſter's orders expreſsly forbade him from paying any acknowledgement for his ſhips anchoring in any port whatever.

The Mandarines being thus cut ſhort on the ſubject of the duty, they ſaid they had another matter to mention, which was the only remaining one they had in charge; this was a requeſt to the Commodore, that he would releaſe the priſoners he had taken on board the galeon; for that the viceroy of Canton apprehended the emperor, his maſter, might be diſpleaſed, if he ſhould be informed that perſons, who were his allies, and carried on a great commerce with his ſubjects, were under confinement in his dominions. Mr. Anſon was himſelf extremely deſirous to get rid of the Spaniards, having, on his firſt arrival, ſent about an hundred of them to Macao, and thoſe who remained, which were near four hundred more, were on many accounts a great incumbrance to him. However, to enhance the favour, he at firſt raiſed ſome difficulties: but, permitting himſelf to be prevailed on, he, at laſt, told the Mandarines, that to ſhew his readineſs to oblige the viceroy, he would releaſe the priſoners, whenever they, the Chineſe, would order boats to fetch them off. This matter being thus adjuſted, the Mandarines departed: and, on the 28th of July, two Chineſe junks were ſent from Canton to take on board the priſoners, and to carry them to Macao. And the Commodore, agreeable to his promiſe, diſmiſſed them all, and directed his purſer to allow them eight days proviſion for their ſubſiſtance during

their ſailing down the river; ſince before they were diſpatched, the Centurion was arrived at her moorings, above the ſecond bar; where ſhe and her prize propoſed to continue till the monſoon ſhifted.

Though the ſhips, in conſequence of the viceroy's permit, found no difficulty in purchaſing proviſions for their daily conſumption; yet it was impoſſible the Commodore could proceed to England, without laying in a large quantity both of proviſions and naval ſtores for his uſe during the voyage. The procuring this ſupply was attended with much peplexity; for there were people at Canton who had undertaken to furniſh him with biſcuit, and whatever elſe he wanted; and his linguiſt, towards the middle of September, had aſſured him from day to day, that all was ready, and would be ſent on board him immediately. But a fortnight being elapſed, and nothing brought, the Commodore ſent to Canton, to inquire more particularly into the reaſons of this diſappointment: and he had ſoon the vexation to be informed, that the whole was an illuſion; that no order had been procured from the viceroy, to furniſh him with his ſea ſtores, as had been pretended; that there was no biſcuit baked, nor any one of the articles in readineſs, which had been promiſed him, nor did it appear that the contractors had taken the leaſt ſtep to comply with their agreement. This was moſt diſagreeable news, and made it ſuſpected, that the furniſhing the Centurion for her return to Great Britain might prove a more troubleſome matter than had been hitherto imagined, eſpecially too, as the month of September was nearly ended, without Mr. Anſon's having received any meſſage from the viceroy of Canton.

And here, perhaps, it might be expected, that a ſatisfactory account ſhould be given of the motives of the Chineſe for this faithleſs procedure. However, as I have already, in a former chapter, made ſome kind of conjectures about a ſimilar event, I ſhall not repeat them again in this place; but ſhall content myſelf with obſerving, that, after all, it may perhaps be impoſſible for an European, ignorant of the cuſtoms and manners of that nation, to be fully appriſed of the real incitements to this behaviour. Indeed, thus much may undoubtedly be aſſerted, that, in

artifice, falſehood, and an attachment to all kinds of lucre, many of the Chineſe are difficult to be paralleled by any other people. But then, the particular application of theſe talents, and the manner in which they operate on every emergency, are often beyond the reach of a foreigner's penetration: ſo that, though it may be ſurely concluded that the Chineſe had ſome intereſt in thus amuſing the Commodore, yet it may not be eaſy to aſſign the individual views by which they were influenced. And that I may not be thought too ſevere, in aſcribing to this nation a fraudulent and ſelfiſh turn of temper, ſo contradictory to the character given of them in the legendary accounts of the Romiſh miſſionaries, I ſhall here mention an extraordinary tranſaction or two, which I conceive will be ſome kind of confirmation of what I have advanced.

When the Commodore lay firſt at Macao, one of his officers, who had been extremely ill, deſired leave of him to go on ſhore every day on a neighbouring iſland, imagining that a walk upon the land would contribute greatly to the reſtoration of his health. The Commodore would have diſſuaded him from it, ſuſpecting the tricks of the Chineſe; but the officer continuing importunate, in the end the boat was ordered to carry him thither. The firſt day he was put on ſhore he took his exerciſe, and returned without receiving any moleſtation, or even ſeeing any of the inhabitants; but the ſecond day he was aſſaulted juſt after his arrival, by a great number of Chineſe, who had been hoeing rice in the neighbourhood, and who beat him ſo violently with the handles of their hoes, that they ſoon laid him on the ground, incapable of reſiſtance; after which they robbed him, taking from him his ſword, the hilt of which was ſilver; his money, his watch, gold headed cane, ſnuff box, ſleeve buttons, and hat, with ſeveral other trinkets. In the mean time the boat's crew, who were at a little diſtance, and had no arms of any kind with them, were incapable of giving him any relief; till at laſt, one of them flew on the fellow who had the ſword in his poſſeſſion, and wreſting it out of his hands, drew it, and was preparing to fall on the Chineſe, ſome of whom he could not have failed of killing; but the officer, perceiving what he was about, immediately ordered him to

deſiſt, thinking it more prudent to ſubmit to the preſent violence, than to embroil his commander in an inextricable ſquabble with the Chineſe government, by the death of their ſubjects; which calmneſs in this gentleman was the more meritorious, as he was known to be a perſon of an uncommon ſpirit, and of a ſomewhat haſty temper. By this means the Chineſe ſpeedily recovered the poſſeſſion of the ſword, when they perceived it was prohibited to be made uſe of againſt them, and carried off their whole booty unmoleſted. No ſooner were they gone, than a Chineſe on horſe back, very well dreſſed, and who had the air and appearance of a gentleman, came down to the ſea ſide, and, as far as could be underſtood by his ſigns, ſeemed to cenſure the conduct of his countrymen, and to commiſerate the officer, being wonderfully officious to aſſiſt in getting him on board the boat: but notwithſtanding this behaviour, it was ſhrewdly ſuſpected that he was an accomplice in the theft, and time fully made out the juſtice of thoſe ſuſpicions.

When the boat returned on board, and the officer reported what had paſſed to the Commodore, he immediately complained of it to the Mandarine who attended to ſee his ſhip ſupplied; but the Mandarine coolly obſerved, that the boat ought not to have gone on ſhore, promiſing, however, that, if the thieves could be found, they ſhould be puniſhed: though it appeared plain enough by his manner of anſwering, that he would never give himſelf any trouble in ſearching them out. However, a conſiderable time afterwards, when ſome Chineſe boats were ſelling proviſions to the Centurion, the perſon who had wreſted the ſword from the Chineſe, came with eagerneſs to the Commodore, to aſſure him that one of the principal thieves was then in a proviſion boat alongſide the ſhip: and the officer, who had been robbed, viewing the fellow on this report, and well remembering his face, orders were immediately given to ſeize him; and he was accordingly ſecured on board the ſhip, where ſtrange diſcoveries were now made.

This thief, on his firſt being apprehended, expreſſed ſo much fright in his countenance, that it was feared he would have died upon the ſpot; the Mandarine too, who

attended the ſhip, had viſibly no ſmall ſhare of concern on the occaſion. Indeed he had reaſon enough to be alarmed, ſince it was ſoon apparent that he had been privy to the whole robbery; for the Commodore declaring that he would not deliver up the thief, but would himſelf order him to be ſhot, the Mandarine immediately put off the magiſterial air, with which he had at firſt pretended to demand him, and begged his releaſe in the moſt abject manner. But the Commodore ſeeming to be inflexible, there came on board, in leſs than two hours time, five or ſix of the neighbouring Mandarines, who all joined in the ſame entreaty; and with a view of facilitating their ſuit, offered a large ſum of money for the fellow's liberty. Whilſt they were thus ſoliciting, it was diſcovered that the Mandarine, the moſt active amongſt them, and who was thence preſumed to be the moſt intereſted in the event, was the very gentleman who rode up to the officer, juſt after the robbery, and who pretended to be ſo much diſpleaſed at the villany of his countrymen. On further inquiry, it was alſo found, that he was the Mandarine of the iſland, and that he had, by the authority of his office, ordered the peaſants to commit that infamous action. This eaſily accounted for his extraordinary vigilance in the preſent conjuncture; ſince, as far as could be collected from the broken hints which were caſually thrown out, it ſeemed, that he and his brethren, who were every one privy to the tranſaction, were terrified with the fear of being called before the tribunal at Canton, where the firſt article of their puniſhment would be, the ſtripping them of all they were worth; though their judges (however fond of inflicting a chaſtiſement ſo lucrative to themſelves) were, perhaps, of as tainted a complexion as the delinquents. Mr. Anſon was not diſpleaſed to have caught the Chineſe in this dilemma; he entertained himſelf for ſome time with their perplexity, rejecting their money with ſcorn, appearing inexorable to their prayers, and giving out that the thief ſhould certainly be ſhot; but as he then foreſaw that he ſhould be obliged to take ſhelter in their ports a ſecond time, when the influence he might hereby acquire over the magiſtrates would be of great ſervice to him, he at length permitted himſelf to be perſuaded, and as a favour, releaſed his priſoner; though not till the Mandarine had collected and returned all that had been ſtolen from the officer, even to the minuteſt trifle.

But, notwithſtanding this inſtance of the good intelligence between the magiſtrates and criminals, the ſtrong addiction of the Chineſe to lucre, often prompts them to break through this awful confederacy, and puts them on defrauding the authority that protects them, of its proper quota of the pillage. For, not long after the above mentioned tranſaction (the former Mandarine, attendant on the ſhip, being, in the mean time, relieved by another) the Commodore loſt a top maſt from his ſtern, which, on the moſt diligent inquiry, could not be traced out. As it was not his own, but had been borrowed at Macao to heave down by, and was not to be replaced in that part of the world, he was extremely deſirous to recover it, and publiſhed a conſiderable reward to any one who would bring him it again. There were ſuſpicions, from the firſt, of its being ſtolen, which made him conclude, that a reward was the likelieſt method of getting it back. Hereupon, ſoon after, the Mandarine informed him, that ſome of his, the Mandarine's attendants, had found the top maſt, deſiring the Commodore to ſend his boats to fetch it, which being done, the Mandarine's people received the promiſed reward. It ſeems the Commodore had told the Mandarine, that he would make him a preſent beſides, on account of the care he had taken in directing it to be ſearched for; and accordingly Mr. Anſon gave a ſum of money to his linguiſt, to be delivered to the Mandarine: but the linguiſt knowing that the Chineſe had been paid, and ignorant that a further preſent had been promiſed, kept the money himſelf. However, the Mandarine, fully confiding in Mr. Anſon's word, and ſuſpecting the linguiſt, took occaſion one morning to admire the ſize of the Centurion's maſts, and thence on a pretended ſudden recollection, he made a digreſſion to the top maſt which had been loſt, and aſked Mr. Anſon if he had not got it again. Mr. Anſon preſently perceived the bent of his converſation, and inquired of him if he had not received the money from the linguiſt, and finding he had not, he offered to pay it him upon the ſpot. But this the Mandarine refuſed, having now ſomewhat more in view than the ſum which had been detained; for, the next day, the linguiſt was ſeized, and was doubtleſs mulcted of whatever he had gotten in the Commodore's ſervice, which was ſuppoſed to be little leſs than two thouſand dollars, being beſides ſo ſeverely baſti-

nadoed, that it was wonderful he eſcaped with his life. And when he was upbraided by the Commodore (to whom he afterwards came a begging) with his folly in riſking his ſevere chaſtiſement, and the loſs of all he was worth, for the lucre of fifty dollars, the preſent of which he defrauded the Mandarine, he had no other excuſe to make, than the ſtrong bias of his nation to diſhoneſty, replying, in his broken jargon, "Chineſe man very great rogue truly, but have faſhion no can help."

It were endleſs to recount all the artifices, extortions, and frauds, which were practiſed on the Commodore and his people by this intereſted race. The method of buying proviſions in China being by weight, the tricks the Chineſe made uſe of to augment the weight of what they ſold to the Centurion, were almoſt incredible. One time a large quantity of fowl and ducks being brought for the ſhip's ſtore, the greateſt part of them preſently died; this ſpread a general alarm on board, it being apprehended that they had been killed by poiſon; but on examination, it appeared that it was only owing to their being crammed with ſtones and gravel to increaſe their weight, the quantity thus forced into moſt of the ducks being found to amount to ten ounces in each. The hogs too, which were bought ready killed of the Chineſe butchers, had water injected into them for the ſame purpoſe: ſo that a carcaſe, hung up all night, that the water might drain from it, had loſt above a ſtone of its weight. And when, to avoid this cheat, the hogs were brought alive, it was diſcovered that the Chineſe gave them ſalt to increaſe their thirſt; and, having thus excited them to drink great quantities of water, they then took meaſures to prevent their diſcharging it again by urine, and ſold the tortured animal in this inflated ſtate. When the Commodore firſt put to ſea from Macao, they practiſed an artifice of another kind; for as the Chineſe never ſcruple eating any food that dies of itſelf, they contrived, by ſome ſecret practices, that great part of his live ſea ſtore ſhould die in a ſhort time after it was put on board, hoping to make a ſecond profit of the dead carcaſes, which they expected would be thrown overboard; and two thirds of the hogs dying before the Centurion was out of ſight of the land, many of the Chineſe boats followed her, only to pick up the carrion. Theſe

inſtances may ſerve as a ſpecimen of the manners of this celebrated nation, which is often recommended to the reſt of the world as a pattern of all kinds of laudable qualities. But to return:

The Commodore, towards the end of September, having found out (as has been ſaid) that thoſe who had contracted to ſupply him with ſea-proviſions and ſtores, had deceived him, and that the viceroy had not invited him to an interview according to his promiſe, he ſaw it would be impoſſible for him to ſurmount the difficulties he was under, without going to Canton and viſiting the viceroy. And therefore, on the 27th of September, he ſent a meſſage to the Mandarine who attended the Centurion, to inform him, that he, the Commodore, intended, on the 1ſt of October, to proceed in his boat to Canton; adding, that the day after he got there, he ſhould notify his arrival to the viceroy, and ſhould deſire him to fix a time for his audience. This meſſage being delivered to the Mandarine, he returned no other anſwer, than that he would acquaint the viceroy with the Commodore's intentions. In the mean time all things were prepared for this expedition; and the boat's crew, which Mr. Anſon propoſed to take with him, were clothed in an uniform dreſs, reſembling that of the watermen on the Thames; they were in number eighteen and a coxſwain: they had ſcarlet jackets and blue ſilk waiſtcoats, the whole trimmed with ſilver buttons, beſides ſilver badges on their jackets and caps. As it was apprehended and even aſſerted, that the payment of the cuſtomary duties for the Centurion and her prize, would be demanded by the regency of Canton, and would be inſiſted on, previous to their granting permiſſion to victual the ſhip for her future voyage, the Commodore, who was reſolved never to eſtabliſh ſo diſhonourable a precedent, took all poſſible precaution to prevent the Chineſe from facilitating the ſucceſs of their unreaſonable pretenſions, by having him in their power at Canton. And therefore, the better to ſecure his ſhip and the great treaſure on board her, againſt their projects, he appointed his firſt lieutenant Mr. Brett, to be captain of the Centurion under him, giving him proper inſtructions for his conduct; directing him particularly, if he the Commodore ſhould be detained at Canton, on account of the duties in diſpute,

to take out the men from the Centurion's prize, and to deſtroy her, and then to proceed down the river through the Bocca Tigris, with the Centurion alone, and to remain without that entrance, till he received further orders from Mr. Anſon.

Theſe neceſſary ſteps being taken, which were not unknown to the Chineſe, it ſhould ſeem as if their deliberations were in ſome ſort perplexed thereby. It is reaſonable to imagine, that they were in general very deſirous of getting the duties to be paid them: not, perhaps, ſolely in conſideration of the amount of thoſe dues, but to keep up their reputation for addreſs and ſubtlety, and to avoid the imputation of receding from claims on which they had already ſo frequently inſiſted. However, as they now foreſaw that they had no other method of ſucceeding than by violence, and that even againſt this the Commodore was prepared, they were at laſt diſpoſed, I conceive, to let the affair drop, rather than entangle themſelves in an hoſtile meaſure, which they found would only expoſe them to the riſk of having the whole navigation of their port deſtroyed, without any certain proſpect of gaining their favourite point.

But though there is reaſon to conclude, that theſe were their thoughts at that time, yet they could not depart at once from the evaſive conduct to which they had hitherto adhered. Since when the Commodore, on the morning of the 1ſt of October, was preparing to ſet out for Canton, his linguiſt came to him from the Mandarine who attended the ſhip, to tell him that a letter had been received from the viceroy of Canton, deſiring the Commodore to put off going thither for two or three days. The reality of this meſſage was not then queſtioned; but, in the afternoon of the ſame day, another linguiſt came on board, who, with much ſeeming fright, told Mr Anſon, that the viceroy had expected him up that day; that the council was aſſembled, and the troops had been under arms to receive him; and that the viceroy was highly offended at the diſappointment, and had ſent the Commodore's linguiſt to priſon chained, ſuppoſing that the whole had been owing to the linguiſt's negligence. This plauſible tale gave the Commodore great concern, and made him apprehend

that there was ſome treachery deſigned him, which he could not yet fathom. And though it afterwards appeared that the whole was a fiction, not one article of it having the leaſt foundation; yet for reaſons beſt known to themſelves, this falſehood was ſo well ſupported by the artifices of the Chineſe merchants at Canton, that, three days afterwards, the Commodore received a letter ſigned by all the ſupercargoes of the Engliſh ſhips then at that place, expreſſing their great uneaſineſs about what had happened, and intimating their fears, that ſome inſult would be offered to his boat, if he came thither before the viceroy was fully ſatisfied of the miſtake. To this letter Mr. Anſon replied, that he did not believe there had been a miſtake; but was perſuaded it was a forgery of the Chineſe to prevent his viſiting the viceroy; that therefore he would certainly come up to Canton on the 13th of October, confident that the Chineſe would not dare to offer him any inſult, as well knowing that he ſhould want neither power nor inclination to make them a proper return.

On the 13th of October, the Commodore, continuing firm to his reſolution, all the ſupercargoes of the Engliſh, Daniſh, and Swediſh ſhips, came on board the Centurion, to accompany him to Canton, for which place he ſet out in his barge the ſame day, attended by his own boats, and by thoſe of the trading ſhips, which on this occaſion ſent their boats to augment his retinue. As he paſſed by Wampoo, where the European veſſels lay, he was ſaluted by all of them but the French, and in the evening he arrived ſafely at Canton. His reception in that city, and the moſt material tranſactions from henceforward, till the expedition was brought to a period, by the return of the Centurion to Great Britain, ſhall be the ſubject of the enſuing chapter.

## CHAP. X.

*Proceedings at the City of* CANTON, *and the return of the* CENTURION *to* ENGLAND.

WHEN the Commodore arrived at Canton, he was viſited by the principal Chineſe merchants, who

affected to be very much pleaſed that he had met with no obſtruction in getting thither; and who thence pretended to conclude, that the viceroy was ſatisfied about the former miſtake, the reality of which they ſtill inſiſted on. In the converſation which paſſed upon this occaſion, they took care to inſinuate, that as ſoon as the viceroy ſhould be informed that Mr. Anſon was at Canton, which they promiſed ſhould be done the next morning, they were perſuaded a time would be immediately appointed for the viſit, which was the principal buſineſs that had brought the Commodore to that city.

The next day the merchants returned to Mr. Anſon, and told him, that the viceroy was then ſo fully employed in preparing his diſpatches for Pekin, that there was no getting admittance to him at preſent; but that they had engaged one of the officers of his court to give them information as ſoon as he ſhould be at leiſure, when they propoſed to notify Mr. Anſon's arrival, and to endeavour to fix the audience. The Commodore was already too well acquainted with their artifices, not to perceive that this was a falſehood: and had he conſulted only his own judgement, he would have applied directly to the viceroy by other hands. But the Chineſe Merchants had ſo far prepoſſeſſed the ſupercargoes of our ſhips with chimerical fears, that they, the ſupercargoes, were extremely apprehenſive of being embroiled with the government, and of ſuffering in their intereſt, if thoſe meaſures were taken which appeared to Mr. Anſon at that time to be the moſt prudential; and therefore, leſt the malice and double dealing of the Chineſe, might have given riſe to ſome ſiniſter incident, which would be afterwards laid at his door, he reſolved to continue paſſive as long as it ſhould appear that he loſt no time by thus ſuſpending his own opinion. In purſuance of this reſolution, he propoſed to the Engliſh, that he would engage not to take any immediate ſtep himſelf for getting admittance to the viceroy, provided the Chineſe, who contracted to furniſh his proviſions, would let him ſee that his bread was baked, his meat ſalted, and his ſtores prepared with the utmoſt diſpatch; but if, by the time when all was in readineſs to be ſhipped off, which it was ſuppoſed would be in about forty days, the merchants ſhould not have procured the government's

permiſſion to ſend it on board, then the Commodore was determined to apply to the viceroy himſelf. Theſe were the terms Mr. Anſon thought proper to offer to quiet the uneaſineſs of the ſupercargoes; and notwithſtanding the apparent equity of the conditions, many difficulties and objections were urged; nor would the Chineſe agree to the propoſal till the Commodore had conſented to pay for every article he beſpoke before it was put in hand. However, at laſt, the contract being paſt, it was ſome ſatisfaction to the Commodore to be certain that his preparations were now going on; and, being himſelf on the ſpot, he took care to haſten them as much as poſſible.

During this interval, in which the ſtores and proviſions were getting ready, the merchants continually entertained Mr. Anſon with accounts of their various endeavours to procure a licence from the viceroy, and their frequent diſappointments. This was now a matter of amuſement to the Commodore, as he was fully ſatisfied there was not one word of truth in any thing they ſaid. But when all was completed, and wanted only to be ſhipped, which was about the 24th of November, at which time too the N. E. monſoon was ſet in, he then reſolved to demand an audience of the viceroy, as he was perſuaded that, without this ceremony, the grant of a permiſſion to take his ſtores on board would meet with great difficulty. On the 24th of November, therefore, Mr. Anſon ſent one of his officers to the Mandarine who commanded the guard of the principal gate of the city of Canton, with a letter directed to the viceroy. When this letter was delivered to the Mandarine, he received the officer who brought it very civilly, and took down the contents of it in Chineſe, and promiſed that the viceroy ſhould be immediately acquainted with it; but told the officer it was not neceſſary he ſhould wait for an anſwer, becauſe a meſſage would be ſent to the Commodore himſelf.

When Mr. Anſon firſt determined to write this letter, he had been under great difficulties about a proper interpreter, as he was well aware, that none of the Chineſe, uſually employed as linguiſts, could be relied on; but he at laſt prevailed with Mr Flint, an Engliſh gentleman belonging to the factory, who ſpoke Chineſe perfectly well,

to accompany his officer. This perſon, who upon that occaſion, and many others, was of ſingular ſervice to the Commodore, had been left at Canton, when a youth, by the late Captain Rigby. The leaving him there to learn the Chineſe language was a ſtep taken by that captain, merely from his own perſuaſion of the conſiderable advantages which the Eaſt India company might one day receive from an Engliſh interpreter: and though the utility of this meaſure has greatly exceeded all that was expected from it, yet I have not heard that it has been to this hour imitated; but we imprudently chuſe, except in this ſingle inſtance, to carry on the vaſt tranſactions at the port of Canton, either by the ridiculous jargon of broken Engliſh, which ſome few of the Chineſe have learned, or by the ſuſpected interpretation of the linguiſts of other nations.

Two days after the ſending the above-mentioned letter, a fire broke out in the ſuburbs of Canton. On the firſt alarm Mr. Anſon went thither with his officers, and his boat's crew, to aid the Chineſe. When he came there, he found that it had begun in a ſailor's ſhade, and that, by the ſlightneſs of the buildings, and the aukwardneſs of the Chineſe, it was getting head apace. However, he perceived, that, by pulling down ſome of the adjacent ſhades, it might eaſily be extinguiſhed; and particularly, obſerving that it was then running along a wooden cornice, which blazed fiercely, and would immediately communicate the flame to a great diſtance, he ordered his people to begin with tearing away the cornice. This was preſently attempted, and would have been executed; but, in the mean time, he was told, that, as there was no Mandarine there, who alone has a power to direct on theſe occaſions, the Chineſe would make him, the Commodore, anſwerable for whatever ſhould be pulled down by his command. Hereupon, Mr. Anſon and his attendants deſiſted; and he ſent them to the Engliſh factory, to aſſiſt in ſecuring the company's treaſure and effects, as it was eaſy to foreſee, that no diſtance was a protection againſt the rage of ſuch a fire, where ſo little was done to put a ſtop to it; ſince, all the while, the Chineſe contented themſelves with viewing it, and now and then holding one of their idols near it, which they ſeemed to expect ſhould

check its progreſs. Indeed, at laſt, a Mandarine came out of the city, attended by four or five hundred firemen: theſe made ſome feeble efforts to pull down the neighbouring houſes; but by that time the fire had greatly extended itſelf, and was got amongſt the merchants warehouſes; and the Chineſe firemen, wanting both ſkill and ſpirit, were incapable of checking its violence, ſo that its fury increaſed upon them, and it was feared the whole city would be deſtroyed. In this general confuſion, the viceroy himſelf came thither, and the Commodore was ſent to, and was entreated to afford his aſſiſtance, being told that he might take any meaſures he ſhould think moſt prudent in the preſent emergency. Upon this meſſage, he went thither a ſecond time, carrying with him about forty of his people, who, in the ſight of the whole city, exerted themſelves after ſo extraordinary a manner, as in that country was altogether without example. For, behaving with the agility and boldneſs peculiar to ſailors, they were rather animated than deterred by the flames and falling buildings, amongſt which they wrought; whence it was not uncommon to ſee the moſt foreward of them tumble to the ground on the roofs, and amidſt the ruins of houſes, which their own efforts brought down under them. By their reſolution and activity the fire was ſoon extinguiſhed, to the amazement of the Chineſe; and it fortunately happened too, that the buildings, being all on one floor, and the materials ſlight, the ſeamen, notwithſtanding their daring behaviour, eſcaped with no other injuries than ſome conſiderable bruiſes.

The fire, though at laſt luckily extinguiſhed, did great miſchief during the time it continued; for it conſumed an hundred ſhops, and eleven ſtreets full of ware houſes, ſo that the damage amounted to an immenſe ſum; and one of the Chineſe merchants, well known to the Engliſh, whoſe name was Succoy, was ſuppoſed, for his own ſhare, to have loſt near two hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. It raged indeed with unuſual violence; for in many of the warehouſes there were large quantities of camphire, which greatly added to its fury, and produced a column of exceeding white flame, which blazed up into the air to ſuch a prodigious height, that it was diſtinctly ſeen on board the Centurion, though ſhe was at leaſt thirty miles diſtant.

Whilſt the Commodore and his people were labouring at the fire, and the terror of its becoming general ſtill poſſeſſed the whole city, ſeveral of the moſt conſiderable Chineſe merchants came to Mr. Anſon, to deſire that he would let each of them have one of his ſoldiers (for ſuch they ſtyled his boat's crew from the uniformity of their dreſs) to guard their warehouſes and dwelling houſes, which from the known diſhoneſty of the populace, they feared would be pillaged in the tumult. Mr. Anſon granted them this requeſt, and all the men that he thus furniſhed, behaved much to the ſatisfaction of the merchants, who afterwards highly applauded their great diligence and fidelity.

By this means the reſolution of the Engliſh in maſtering the fire, and their truſty and prudent conduct where they were employed as ſafe guards, was the general ſubject of converſation amongſt the Chineſe. And the next morning, many of the principal inhabitants waited on the Commodore to thank him for his aſſiſtance, frankly owning to him, that he had preſerved their city from being totally conſumed, as they could never have extinguiſhed the fire of themſelves. Soon after too, a meſſage came to the Commodore from the viceroy, appointing the 30th of November for his audience; which ſudden reſolution of the viceroy, in a matter that had been ſo long agitated in vain, was alſo owing to the ſignal ſervices performed by Mr. Anſon and his people at the fire, of which the viceroy himſelf had been, in ſome meaſure, an eye witneſs.

The fixing this buſineſs of the audience was, on every account, a circumſtance with which Mr. Anſon was much pleaſed; ſince he was ſatisfied the Chineſe government would not have determined this point, without having agreed among themſelves to give up the pretenſions to the duties they claimed, and to grant him all he could reaſonably aſk. For as they well knew the Commodore's ſentiments, it would have been a piece of imprudence, not conſiſtent with their refined cunning, to have admitted him to an audience only to have conteſted with him. Being therefore himſelf perfectly eaſy about the reſult of his viſit, he made the neceſſary preparations againſt the day, and engaged Mr. Flint, whom I have mentioned be-

fore, to act as interpreter in the conference; and Mr. Flint in this affair, as in all others, acquitted himſelf much to the Commodore's ſatisfaction, repeating with great boldneſs, and doubtleſs with exactneſs, whatever was given him in charge; a part which no Chineſe linguiſt would have performed with any tolerable fidelity.

At ten o'clock in the morning on the day appointed, a Mandarine came to the Commodore, to let him know that the viceroy was prepared, and expected him; on which the Commodore and his retinue immediately ſet out. As ſoon as he entered the outer gate of the city, he found a guard of two hundred ſoldiers ready to receive him; theſe attended him to the great parade before the emperor's palace, where the viceroy then reſided. In this parade a body of troops, to the number of ten thouſand, were drawn up under arms, who made a very fine appearance, they being all of them new clothed for this ceremony. Mr. Anſon with his retinue having paſſed through the middle of them, he was then conducted to the great hall of audience where he found the viceroy ſeated under a rich canopy in the emperor's chair of ſtate, with all his council of Mandarines attending. Here there was a vacant ſeat prepared for the Commodore, in which he was placed on his arrival. He was ranked third in order from the viceroy, there being only the two chiefs of the law and of the treaſury, who, in the Chineſe government, have precedents of all military officers. When the Commodore was ſeated, he addreſſed himſelf to the viceroy, by his interpreter, and began with reciting the various methods he had formerly taken to get an audience; adding, that he imputed the delays he had met with to the inſincerity of thoſe he had employed; and that he had therefore no other means left than to ſend, as he had done, his own officer with a letter to the gate On the mention of this, the viceroy interrupted the interpreter, and bid him aſſure Mr. Anſon, that the firſt knowledge they had of his being at Canton was from that letter. Mr Anſon then proceeded, and told him, that the ſubjects of the king of Great Britain trading to China had complained to him, the Commodore, of the vexatious impoſitions both of the merchants, and inferior cuſtom houſe officers, to which they were frequently neceſſitated to ſubmit, by reaſon of the

difficulty of getting acceſs to the Mandarines, who alone could grant them redreſs; that it was his, Mr. Anſon's duty, as an officer of the king of Great Britain, to lay before the viceroy theſe grievances of the Britiſh ſubjects, which he hoped the viceroy would take into conſideration, and would give orders, that hereafter there ſhould be no juſt reaſon for complaint. Here Mr. Anſon pauſed, and waited ſome time in expectation for an anſwer; but nothing being ſaid, he aſked his interpreter, if he was certain the viceroy underſtood what he had urged? The interpreter told him, he was certain it was underſtood, but he believed no reply would be made to it. Mr. Anſon then repreſented to the viceroy the caſe of the ſhip Haſlingfield, which having been diſmaſted on the coaſt of China, had arrived in the river of Canton but a few days before. The people on board this veſſel had been great ſufferers by the fire, the captain, in particular, had all his goods burnt, and had loſt beſides, four thouſand five hundred tahel, which was ſuppoſed to be ſtolen by the Chineſe boatmen; Mr Anſon therefore deſired that the captain might have the aſſiſtance of the government, as it was apprehended the money could never be recovered without the interpoſition of the Mandarines. And to this requeſt the viceroy made anſwer, that in ſettling the emperor's cuſtoms for the ſhip, ſome abatement ſhould be made in conſideration of her loſſes.

And now the Commodore, having diſpatched the buſineſs with which the officers of the Eaſt India company had intruſted him, he entered on his own affairs, acquainting the viceroy that the proper ſeaſon was already ſet in for returning to Europe, and that he wanted only a licence to ſhip off his proviſions and ſtores, which were all ready; and that as ſoon as this ſhould be granted him, and he ſhould have gotten his neceſſaries on board, he intended to leave the river of Canton, and to make the beſt of his way for England The viceroy replied to this, that the licence ſhould be immediately iſſued, and that every thing ſhould be ordered on board the following day. And finding that Mr. Anſon had nothing farther to inſiſt on, the viceroy continued the converſation for ſome time, acknowledging in very civil terms, how much the Chineſe were obliged to him for his ſignal ſervices at the fire, and

owning that he had ſaved the city from being deſtroyed; then obſerving that the Centurion had been a good while on their coaſt, he cloſed his diſcourſe by wiſhing the Commodore a proſperous voyage to Europe. After which the Commodore thanking him for his civility and aſſiſtance, took his leave.

As ſoon as the Commodore was out of the hall of audience, he was much preſſed to go into a neighbouring apartment, where there was an entertainment provided; but finding, on inquiry, that the viceroy himſelf was not to be preſent, he declined the invitation, and departed, attended in the ſame manner as at his arrival; only, on his leaving the city, he was ſaluted by three guns, which are as many as, in that country, are ever fired on any ceremony. Thus the Commodore, to his great joy, at laſt finiſhed this troubleſome affair, which, for the preceding four months, had given him much diſquietude Indeed he was highly pleaſed, with procuring a licence for the ſhipping of his ſtores and proviſions, as thereby he was enabled to return to Great Britain with the firſt of the monſoons, and to prevent all intelligence of his being expected: but this, though a very important point, was not the circumſtance which gave him the greateſt ſatisfaction; for he was more particularly attentive to the authentic precedent eſtabliſhed on this occaſion, by which his Majeſty's ſhips of war are, for the future, exempted from all demands of duty in any of the ports of China.

In purſuance of the promiſes of the viceroy, the proviſions were begun to be ſent on board the day ſucceeding the audience; and, four days after, the Commodore embarked at Canton for the Centurion. And now all the preparations for putting to ſea were purſued with ſo much vigilance, and were ſo ſoon completed, that, the 7th of December, the Centurion and her prize unmoored, and ſtood down the river, paſſing through the Boeca Tigris on the 10th. On this occaſion I muſt obſerve, that the Chineſe had taken care to man the two forts, on each ſide of that paſſage, with as many men as they could well contain, the greateſt part of them armed with pikes and matchlock muſquets. Theſe garriſons affected to ſhew themſelves as much as poſſible to the ſhips, and were

doubtleſs intended to induce Mr. Anſon to think more reverently than he had hitherto done of the Chineſe military power. For this purpoſe they were equipped with extraordinary parade, having a great number of colours expoſed to view; and on the caſtle, in particular, there was laid conſiderable heaps of large ſtones; and a ſoldier of unuſual ſize, dreſſed in very ſightly armour, ſtalked about on the parapet with a battle ax in his hand, endeavouring to put on as important and martial an air as poſſible, tho' ſome of the obſervers on board the Centurion ſhrewdly ſuſpected, from the appearance of his armour, that, inſtead of ſteel, it was compoſed only of a particular kind of glittering paper.

The Centurion and her prize being now without the river of Canton, and conſequently upon the point of leaving the Chineſe juriſdiction, I beg leave, before I quit all mention of the Chineſe affairs, to ſubjoin a few remarks on the diſpoſition and genius of that celebrated people. And though it may be ſuppoſed, that obſervations made at Canton only, a place ſituated in a corner of the empire, are very imperfect materials on which to found any general concluſions; yet, as thoſe who have had opportunities of examining the inner parts of the country, have been evidently influenced by very ridiculous prepoſſeſſions, and as the tranſactions of Mr. Anſon with the regency of Canton were of an uncommon nature, in which many circumſtances occurred, different, perhaps, from any which have happened before, I hope the following reflections, many of them drawn from theſe incidents, will not be altogether unacceptable to the reader.

That the Chineſe are a very ingenious and induſtrious people, is ſufficiently evinced, from the great number of curious manufactures which are eſtabliſhed amongſt them, and which are eagerly ſought for by the moſt diſtant nations; but though ſkill in the handicraft arts ſeems to be the moſt valuable qualification of this people, yet their talents therein are but of a ſecond rate kind; for they are much outdone by the Japaneſe in thoſe manufactures which are common to both countries: and they are, in numerous inſtances, incapable of rivalling the mechanic dexterity of the Europeans. Indeed, their principal excellen-

cy ſeems to be imitation: and they accordingly labour under that poverty of genius which conſtantly attends all ſervile imitators. This is moſt conſpicuous in works which require great truth and accuracy, as in clocks, watches, fire arms, &c. for in all theſe, though they can copy the different parts, and can form ſome reſemblance of the whole, yet they never could arrive at ſuch a juſtneſs in their fabric as was neceſſary to produce the deſired effect. If we paſs from theſe employed in manufactures to artiſts of a ſuperior claſs, as painters, ſtatuaries, &c. in theſe matters they ſeem to be ſtill more defective; their painters, though very numerous, and in great eſteem, rarely ſucceeding in the drawing or colouring of human figures, or in the grouping of large compoſitions; and though in flowers and birds, their performances are much more admired, yet even in theſe, ſome part of the merit is rather to be imputed to the native brightneſs and excellency of the colours, than to the ſkill of the painter; ſince it is very unuſual to ſee the light and ſhade juſtly and naturally handled, or to find that eaſe and grace in the drawing which are to be met with in the works of European artiſts. In ſhort, there is a ſtiffneſs and minuteneſs in moſt of the Chineſe productions, which are extremely diſpleaſing; and it may, perhaps, be truly aſſerted, that theſe defects in their arts, are entirely owing to the peculiar turn of the people, amongſt whom nothing great or ſpirited is to be met with.

If we next examine the Chineſe literature (taking our accounts from the writers who have endeavoured to repreſent it in the moſt favourable light), we ſhall find, that on this head, their obſtinacy and abſurdity are moſt wonderful; ſince though, for many ages, they have been ſurrounded by nations to whom the uſe of letters was familiar, yet they, the Chineſe alone, have hitherto neglected to avail themſelves of that almoſt divine invention, and have continued to adhere to the rude and inartificial method of repreſenting words by arbitrary marks; a method which neceſſarily renders the numbers of their characters too great for human memory to manage; makes writing to be an art that requires prodigious application, and in which no man can be otherwiſe than partially ſkilled, whilſt all reading and underſtanding of what is written is attended with

infinite obſcurity and confuſion; as the connection between theſe marks, and the words they repreſent, cannot be retained in books, but muſt be delivered down from age to age by oral tradition: and how uncertain this muſt prove, in ſuch a complicated ſubject, is ſufficiently obvious to thoſe who have attended to the variation which all verbal relations undergo, when they are tranſmitted through three or four hands only. Hence it is eaſy to conclude, that the hiſtory and inventions of paſt ages, recorded by theſe perplexed ſymbols, muſt frequently prove unintelligible; and conſequently, the learning, and boaſted antiquity of the nation muſt, in numerous inſtances, be extremely problematical.

However, we are told by many of the miſſionaries, that, though the ſkill of the Chineſe in ſcience is confeſſedly much inferior to that of the Europeans, yet the morality and juſtice taught and practiſed by them are moſt exemplary; ſo that, from the deſcription given by ſome of theſe good fathers, one ſhould be induced to believe, that the whole empire was a well governed affectionate family, where the only conteſts were, who ſhould exert the moſt humanity and ſocial virtue; but our preceding relation of the behaviour of the magiſtrates, merchants, and tradeſmen at Canton, ſufficiently refutes theſe Jeſuitical fictions. Beſides, as to their theories of morality, if we may judge from the ſpecimens exhibited in the works of the miſſionaries, we ſhall find them frequently employed in recommending a ridiculous attachment to certain frivolous points, inſtead of diſcuſſing the proper criterion of human actions, and regulating the general conduct of mankind to one another on reaſonable and equitable principles. Indeed, the only pretenſion of the Chineſe to a more refined morality than their neighbours, is founded, not on their integrity or beneficence, but ſolely on the affected evenneſs of their demeanour, and their conſtant attention to ſuppreſs all ſymptoms of paſſion and violence. But it muſt be conſidered, that hypocriſy and fraud are often not leſs miſchievous to the general intereſts of mankind, than impetuoſity and vehemence of temper; ſince theſe, though uſually liable to the imputation of imprudence, do not exclude ſincerity, benevolence, reſolution, nor many other laudible qualities. And, per-

haps, if this matter was examined to the bottom, it would appear, that the calm and patient turn of the Chineſe, on which they ſo much value themſelves, and which diſtinguiſhes the nation from all others, is, in reality, the ſource of the moſt exceptionable part of their character; for it has been often obſerved, by thoſe who have attended to the nature of mankind, that it is difficult to curb the more robuſt and violent paſſions, without augmenting, at the ſame time, the force of the ſelfiſh ones: ſo that the timidity, diſſimulation, and diſhoneſty of the Chineſe, may, in ſome ſort, be owing to the compoſure and external decency ſo univerſally prevailing in that empire.

Thus much for the general diſpoſition of the people: but I cannot diſmiſs this ſubject without adding a few words about the Chineſe government, that too having been the ſubject of boundleſs panegyric. And on this head, I muſt obſerve, that the favourable accounts often given of their prudent regulations for the adminiſtration of their domeſtic affairs, are ſufficiently confuted by their tranſactions with Mr. Anſon; as we have ſeen that their magiſtrates are corrupt, their people thieviſh, and their tribunals venal, and abounding with artifice. Nor is the conſtitution of the empire, or the general orders of the ſtate, leſs liable to exception: ſince that form of government which does not, in the firſt place, provide for the ſecurity of the public againſt the enterpriſes of foreign powers, is certainly a moſt defective inſtitution: and yet this populous, this rich and extenſive country, ſo pompouſly celebrated for its refined wiſdom and policy, was conquered about an age ſince by a handful of Tartars; and, even now, through the cowardice of the inhabitants, and the want of proper military regulations, it continues expoſed, not only to the attempts of any potent ſtate, but to the ravages of every petty invader. I have already obſerved, on occaſion of the Commodore's diſputes with the Chineſe, that the Centurion alone was an over-match for all the naval power of that empire: this, perhaps, may appear an extraordinary poſition; but, to render it unqueſtionable, there is exhibited, in the XLII plate, the draught of two of the veſſels made uſe of by the Chineſe. The firſt of theſe, marked (A), is a junk of about a hundred and twenty tons burden, and was what the Centurion hove down

by; theſe are moſtly uſed in the great rivers, though they ſometimes ſerve for ſmall coaſting voyages: the other junk, marked (B), is about two hundred and eight tons burden, and is of the ſame form with thoſe in which they trade to Cochinchina, Manila, Batavia, and Japan, though ſome of their trading veſſels are of a much larger ſize: its head, which is repreſented at (C), is perfectly flat: and when the veſſel is deep laden, the ſecond or third plank of this flat ſurface is oft times under water. The maſts, ſails, and rigging, of theſe veſſels, are ruder than the built; for their maſts are made of trees no otherwiſe faſhioned, than by barking them, and lopping off their branches. Each maſt has only two ſhrouds of twiſted rattan, which are often both ſhifted to the weather ſide; and the haleyard, while the yard is up, ſerves inſtead of a third ſhroud. The ſails are of mat, ſtrengthened every three feet by an horizontal rib of bamboo; they run upon the maſts with hoops, as is repreſented in the figure; and, when they are lowered down, they fold upon the deck. Theſe traders carry no cannon; and it appears from this whole deſcription, that they are utterly incapable of reſiſting any European armed veſſel. Nor is the ſtate provided with ſhips of conſiderable force, or of a better fabric, to protect their merchantmen: for at Canton, where, doubtleſs, their principal naval power is ſtationed, we ſaw no more than four men of war junks, of about three hundred tons burden, being of the make already deſcribed, and mounted only with eight or ten guns, the largeſt of which did not exceed a four pounder. This may ſuffice to give an idea of the defenceleſs ſtate of the Chineſe empire. But it is time to return to the Commodore, whom I left with his two ſhips without the Bocca Tigris, and who on the 12th of December, anchored before the town of Macao.

Whilſt the ſhips lay here, the merchants of Macao finiſhed their purchaſe of the galeon, for which they refuſed to give more than 6ccc dollars; this was greatly ſhort of her value, but the impatience of the Commodore to get to ſea, to which the merchants were no ſtrangers, prompted them to inſiſt on theſe unequal terms. Mr. Anſon had learned enough from the Engliſh at Canton, to conjecture that the war with Spain was ſtill continued, and that probably the French might engage in the aſſiſtance of Spain

before he could arrive in Great Britain; and therefore knowing that no intelligence could come to Europe of the prize he had taken, and the treaſure he had on board, till the return of the merchantmen from Canton, he was reſolved to make all poſſible expedition in getting back, that he might be himſelf the firſt meſſenger of his own good fortune, and might thereby prevent the enemy from forming any projects to intercept him: for theſe reaſons he, to avoid all delay, accepted of the ſum offered for the galeon; and ſhe being delivered to the merchants the 15th of December 1743, the Centurion, the ſame day, got under ſail on her return to England, On the third of January, ſhe came to an anchor at Prince's iſland, in the Straits of Sunda, and continued there wooding and watering till the 8th; when ſhe weighed and ſtood for the Cape of Good Hope, where, on the 11th of March, ſhe anchored in Table Bay.

The Cape of Good Hope is ſituated in a temperate climate, where the exceſſes of heat and cold are but rarely known; and the Dutch inhabitants, who are numerous, and who here retain their native induſtry, have ſtocked it with prodigious plenty of all ſorts of fruits and proviſions; moſt of which, either from the equality of the ſeaſons, or the peculiarity of the ſoil, are more delicious in their kind than can be met with elſewhere; ſo that by theſe, and by the excellent water which abounds there, this ſettlement is the beſt provided of any in the known world, for the refreſhment of ſeamen after long voyages. Here the Commodore continued till the beginning of April, highly delighted with the place, which, by its extraordinary accomodations, the healthineſs of its air, and the pictureſque appearance of the country, the whole enlivened too by the addition of a civilized colony, was not diſgraced on a compariſon with the vallies of Juan Fernandes and the lawns of Tinian. During his ſtay he entered about forty new men; and having by the third of April 1744, completed his water and proviſion, he on that day weighed and put to ſea. The 19th of April they ſaw the iſland of St. Helena, which however they did not touch at, but ſtood on their way, and arrived in ſoundings about the beginning of June: they on the 10th of that month, ſpoke with an Engliſh ſhip bound for Philadelphia, from whom

they received the firſt intelligence of a French war. By the 12th of June they got ſight of the Lizard; and the 15th, in the evening, to their infinite joy, they came to an anchor at Spithead. But that the ſignal perils, which had ſo often threatened them in the preceding part of the enterprize might purſue them to the very laſt, Mr. Anſon learned, on his arrival, that there was a French fleet of conſiderable force cruiſing in the chops of the channel, which, from the account of their poſition, he found the Centurion had run through, and had been all the time concealed by a fog. Thus was this expedition finiſhed, when it had laſted three years and nine months, after having by its event ſtrongly evinced this important truth, That though prudence, intrepidity, and perſeverance united, are not exempted from the blows of adverſe fortune, yet, in a long ſeries of tranſactions, they uſually riſe ſuperior to its power, and, in the end, rarely fail of proving ſucceſsful.

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